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# MEMOIRS

OF THE

# AMERICAN ACADEMY

IN ROME

RHYS CARPENTER  
VOLUME XVIII

AMERICAN ACADEMY IN ROME

101 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y., U. S. A.

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OBSERVATIONS  
ON  
FAMILIAR STATUARY  
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## General Considerations <sup>1</sup>.

Modern classical archaeology has been a creation of the philologists, whose interest in the literary details of ancient life led them into antiquarianism. A natural result was the application of philological method to archaeological problems; and the ultimate outcome for the study of Greek sculpture was a powerful prejudice toward treating art as though it were literature. It is not difficult to see what havoc this implies, if we pause to consider how the philological literary method works.

By the time of the late Roman Empire, a fairly unanimous verdict had already been passed in the Greek and Latin world of letters, selecting for approval and consequent preservation certain writers who were deemed great, important, and interesting, and allowing others for the opposite reasons to lapse into oblivion. In spite of the enormous destruction and accidental loss which threatened to annihilate classical literature entirely, there survived through the Middle Ages into modern times a body of literary manuscripts which was surprisingly representative of the canonic literary judgment of antiquity. There were of course occasional serious gaps, such as in the pitiably fragmentary preservation of Menander or the older Greek lyric poets; but in a general way it was undeniably true that the best of ancient Greek and Roman literature (as ancient literary judgment had selected it) was to be discovered amid the surviving manuscripts. Even more significantly, there was usually a very clear relation between the number of surviving manuscripts of any given author and that author's importance in the ancient world <sup>2</sup>.

When this fundamental concept of the literary canon was applied to the remnants of ancient statuary — and it was inevitable that it should have been applied as soon as it was observed that statues were not unrelated and discrete units, but fell into groups of replicas just as surely as manuscripts duplicated one another and fell into groups under their respective authors, — the perfectly natural inference was drawn, that our surviving statuary must reflect the selective canon of ancient artistic judgment, and that the statuary types which most abundantly survived were those which most frequently had been copied and hence were most in favor in antiquity. But as there had also survived a few treatises or echoes of treatises on Greek artists, notably in the pages of Pliny's *Natural History*, the preferential verdict of antiquity was also known in another way. On one side, an accumulation of statues falling readily into types and copies; on the other side, a list of names of famous sculptors and their works: if only for a working hypothesis, what scholar would not have tried to combine and identify the two series? Herein is comprised the concept of the *Meisterwerk*, a technical term for the canonic piece of sculpture which has engendered a train of copies, in the same sense that a Plato with his *Dialogues* engendered a train of manuscripts.

It is only slowly dawning on our profession that the basic hypothesis underlying this concept of the *Meisterwerk* is erroneous. The copied types do not systematically coincide with the literary canonic lists. The Diskobolos of Myron, the Doryphoros and Diadoumenos of Polykleitos, the Athena Parthenos of Pheidias may be taken as certainly preserved and recognized in copies or versions; we hear of them in classical literary sources, and we possess reproductions of them among our surviving statuary. But there is no compulsion, no inevitability, perhaps even no great probability, that our entire sculptural repertory corresponds to the literary tradition in any such sense as the repertory of manuscripts corresponds to the literary tradition concerning the classical literary preference.

There must be a number of very pertinent reasons for this state of affairs. Thus, Pliny's list of sculptors and their chief works is largely borrowed from earlier Greek sources, whereas the copies which were put upon the Roman market must have reproduced whatever was actually available to the marble workers in their

<sup>1</sup> Conditions have prevented the Author from revising the proofs.

Gratitude is herewith expressed, for permission to reproduce and for other courtesies relating to illustrations, to the

institutions, firms and individuals mentioned on the respective plates.

<sup>2</sup> Consider for example the enormous number of MSS. of Homer.



workshops during the Roman period and whatever was most salable to their particular public. The canons of the literary masterpieces were preserved in and by the literary medium itself: for sculpture, the literary tradition concerning art did not necessarily coincide with the physically actual sculptural tradition in stone. To be sure, statues were made from statues as directly and exclusively as manuscripts were copied from manuscripts; but the controlling factors of taste were bound to be divergent in the two media, because the one was self-contained where the other was subject to all manner of external influences. Again, what is contemporary in Pliny's lists is apparently due to specifically Roman interpellation into the Greek literary inheritance, and this interpellation derives solely and simply from the inclusion of the most familiar statuary on view in Early Imperial Rome. These additions would consequently be famous works whose fame might often have been fortuitous and rather largely independent of previous Greek expressions of preference and taste; but it would not follow that even these statues were all equally accessible to the marble workers for taking casts or pointing off replicas. As far as the tribe of copies was concerned, these particular statues might therefore have been completely sterile and yet — in Roman literary tradition — have seemed to rank as important.

The almost overpowering temptation to identify an extant statuary type with some master and some work mentioned by Pliny or another ancient writer, is therefore to be *prima facie* resisted and not, as it has been hitherto, blithely encouraged. Furtwängler's *Meisterwerke* is itself a masterpiece and is rightly prized as one of the classics of modern archaeological literature; but it is probable that it is pretty thoroughly erroneous from cover to cover, precisely because its fundamental hypothesis of the *Meisterwerk* is a philological theorem which in its application to art is false.

There is another prejudice which originates in literary method and has invaded the study of Greek sculpture without consequent benefit. In literature, the personality and individuality of the writer are necessarily at a premium, with the result that comparisons and contrasts can be profitably drawn across considerable intervals of time and with striking disregard for immediate contemporaneity. The individual counts, humanly speaking, more for the value of his isolated product than for his contributory position in the general evolution of literary forms and fashions. Moreover, his style is so personal and so peculiarly his own, that all his works are internally related and apparented. If a new Greek tragedy unexpectedly turned up, it would be much more important to establish that it had been written by Sophokles than that it dated from the second half of the fifth century B. C. The transference of this perfectly legitimate emphasis on authorship to the study of ancient sculpture is illegitimate, because the underlying technical problem of imitative representation is so dominant, so slow and so difficult of solution, that it becomes a continuous common factor controlling the evolution of all sculptural expression to a degree to which there is no counterpart in literature. The result of philological prejudice is to lay more stress on the recovery of artists than on the understanding of art. Its great harm to archaeology is its desire to erect barriers within the evolutionary stream, and to substitute largely imaginary individual human values for an impartial scientific comprehension of those artistic processes which transcend the merely individual contribution. In short it tries to re-create *sculptors* where it should try to arrange, analyse, and comprehend *sculpture*.

Perhaps these strictures err through over-great abstraction and generalisation; but it is an easy matter to reduce and apply them to concrete instances. In the Roman galleries, as chance would have it, there is particular opportunity to test their relevance to the work of such a reconstructed sculptural personality as Myron, since in Rome there are the best versions of the Diskobolos<sup>1</sup>, the only versions of the Marsyas, and probably the better of the two versions of the head of the Perseus. There is then no better way of examining the basic suppositions of our modern science of sculptural archaeology than by scrutinising its claim to useful accomplishment in recovering the lost works and artistic personality of

<sup>1</sup> Except that the Lancellotti version is no longer there.

The torso from Castel Porziano, however, is of very great worth.



## Myron of Eleutherai.

I have already remarked that the attribution to Myron of the poised Diskobolos, familiar to us from so many copies, must be classed among the few completely certain identifications established between the modern repertory of types and the ancient lists of famous works. Though it is forensically possible to dispute even this, nothing useful is to be gained thereby. The vivid description by Lucian (*Philopseud.* 18), the pertinent *quid tam distortum et elaboratum* of Quintilian (*Inst. Or.* II 13, 10), the mention by Pliny, the unmistakable transitional post-archaic and pre-classical style of the work, the epigraphical evidence for the period of the sculptor's activity, combine to make a Gordian knot which can be cut by a brusque categorical denial, but untied by no known archaeological method. The study of Myron's style must therefore be based on the Diskobolos and only through the Diskobolos extended to other works. In terms of the Diskobolos, Pliny's famous passage about Myron (*N. H.* xxxiv 58) must find its plausible interpretation:

*Primus hic multiplicasse veritatem videtur, numerosior in arte quam Polyclitus et in symmetria diligentior, et ipse tamen corporum tenuis curiosus animi sensus non expressisse, capillum quoque et pubem non emendatius fecisse quam rudis antiquitas instituisset.*

A commentator, working backward from the end of this crowded sentence, could at least begin his exegesis with a measure of confidence. The head of the Palazzo Lancellotti Diskobolos<sup>1</sup> shows hair such as in the bronze original might not have been cast at all, except as a thin smooth metal cap for the skull, but added with engraving tools in cold chisel-work — thus corresponding surprisingly to the technique observed on some of the marbles from the Zeus Temple at Olympia, where the hair must have been added with the paintbrush after the carving had been finished. The hair of the pubes on the Diskobolos tends to be indicated with similar lack of plastic salience or complexity. *Non emendatius... quam rudis antiquitas instituisset* must certainly imply also a tendency to schematic repetition of some standard pattern to indicate hair, such as the all-over sickle-shape pattern of the Lancellotti head. The preceding phrase "he was only interested in the bodily forms and did not indicate any expression of the feelings" is a wholly apt characterisation of the complete absence of vivacity or inner life, which results from the simple indication of the features of the face in the repose of their normal state. To a modern eye, this fixed tranquillity betokens a morose or sullen temper; but Pliny is as correct in his negative statement, *animi sensus non expressisse*, as the modern world is wrong in referring *e. g.* to the goddess on the Acropolis stele, whose head is similarly rendered, as the "Mourning Athena".

It would perhaps be shrewder to avoid comment on the preceding overmuch debated phrase, *numerosior in arte quam Polyclitus et in symmetria diligentior*; but since the comparison is with Polykleitos, it should be pertinent to note that in his treatment of that artist immediately before Myron, Pliny has recorded Varro's criticism of Polykleitan statues as too square and too much alike (*quadrata tamen esse ea ait Varro et paene ad [unum?] exemplum*). There is not so much question of Polykleitos' lack of output (Pliny lists ten of his statues against roughly an equal number by Myron), as of the extreme diversity of theme and subject in Myron's work as opposed to the monotony of his Sicynian rival's. *Numerosior in arte* is therefore more likely to mean "more versatile" or "of greater range and variety"; but why he was more addicted to proportional measurements than Polykleitos, who embodied his scheme in his famous canonic Doryphoros, may well remain obscure to us for some time to come.

We are left with the opening phrase of the sentence, *primus hic multiplicasse veritatem videtur*, and what this means will be instantly apparent to any student with enough interest in artistic superficial anatomy to appreciate the important place which the Diskobolos occupies in the technical development of Greek sculpture during the first half of the fifth century. Unfortunately, the various copies disagree among themselves as to the precise amount of anatomical information to be incorporated; and it is even possible — since the temptation to

<sup>1</sup> Br.-Br. 567.



improve on a famous prototype must always have existed — that the “best” versions are so rated by us precisely because they do not accurately reproduce the original, but have tried to enhance its naturalism. Hence the futility of any discussion such as (to quote only a single instance) whether the Capitoline Torso, in which Della Seta remarks for the first time in Greek sculpture “l’indicazione dei processi spinosi delle vertebre nel solco vertebrale”,<sup>1</sup> is closer to Myron’s original than the rather empty treatment in the otherwise excellent Terme version from Castel Porziano. But there is a common element in all the copies of the Diskobolos which, because it is symptomatic of the transitional period, cannot have been added or intruded by the copyist. It is difficult to put it into words, because it is a visual phenomenon of considerable subtlety of definition. But if it is recalled how archaic art defines its details through linear devices, and if it is remarked that such linear devices inevitably partake of the character of boundaries enclosing surfaces (which we shall call outlines) or boundaries enclosing solids (which we shall call contours), the traces of archaic procedure in the Diskobolos will at once obtrude themselves. Just as the whole pose is a calculated contour, more appropriate to a relief than to a statue in the round, so most of the major salencies of the muscles are drawn in relief, with their correct shape for only a single point of view; as the statue is revolved, the correct contour is followed by a flat and hence incorrect transition to the next controlled and consciously outlined aspect. Thus (PLATE 1) the pectoral muscle on the right attaches to the arm below the deltoid in strong salience and, if the torso is viewed frontally, with adequate accuracy; but this salience of the pectoral is not modeled and rounded into the armpit toward the great muscle of the back, but carried in a flat plane behind, just as the front of the pectoral is treated as a flat surface sloping without any contraction to meet the deltoid. Other unexpectedly flat planes (*i. e.* undifferentiated surfaces between expressive contours) may be found on the inside of the pendent left arm and at the back of the right lower leg. The curious squareness of the gluteus results from a similar disregard of the movement between the essential contours. As for the interior detail, it must be apparent that the anatomical indication is achieved mainly by grooves (*i. e.* sculpturally articulated *lines*). The latissimus dorsi is merely set off from the serratus magnus by its abruptly raised boundary. This tendency to proceed *seriatim* is particularly obvious in the failure of the trunk to show continuous torsion. In the Castel Porziano version<sup>2</sup>, the lower abdomen is oriented on the pelvis; the hidden navel allows the next section of the thorax to be frankly displaced laterally; but there is no device for hiding the third displacement at the base of the sternum, where the central line merely breaks and resumes elsewhere. Thus, the whole trunk is presented in three disconnected sections instead of in connected movement. To summarize, the individual observation of anatomical form is undoubtedly very great, but it is expressed in a quasi-archaic schematic manner with a pronounced tendency to linear grooves, flat planes, and neglected transitions. If the original is to be dated earlier than the mid-point of the fifth century B. C., it would be more than merely anomalous, it would be highly peculiar and suspicious, if these completely characteristic mannerisms were missing. As it is, we seem to have a thorough-going agreement between our marble versions and Pliny’s famous characterisation, already quoted and examined.

Trouble arises only when we seek to expand our knowledge of Myron’s works, of which Pliny (*N. H.* XXXIV 57 f.) gives a brief list arranged alphabetically according to the Latin titles: *Fecit et canem et discobolon et Perseum et pristas et satyrum admirantem tibus et Minervam*, followed by the unalphabetic additions of *Delphicos pentathlos, pancratiastas, Herculem qui est apud circum maximum in aede Pompei Magni* and the mysterious *cicadae monumentum ac locustae*. Finally, “he also made the Apollo which was removed from Ephesus by Antony the Triumvir and returned by the divine Augustus in obedience to a vision”. Of all this list, modern scholarship is firmly convinced only that it has identified the “satyr regarding the flutes and Minerva”, and reasonably satisfied only that it further knows the head of the Perseus. All the rest must still rank as extremely uncertain.

It is an excellent exercise in archaeological method to examine once again the much-vaunted recovery of the Marsyas (who must be the satyr regarding the flutes), the Athena (who must belong with the Marsyas, since otherwise the alphabetic sequence is violated), and the Perseus. With the Diskobolos for sole certain starting-point, the next acquisition for our Myron *redivivus* is the Marsyas, who has been recognised (with what passes usually as complete certainty) in the nude tiptoe satyr of the Lateran.

<sup>1</sup> *Il Nudo nell'Arte*, I 210, where Della Seta himself emphasises the futility of further discussion along these lines.

<sup>2</sup> DELLA SETA, *op. cit.*, p. 202, fig. 90.



## The Marsyas of the Lateran

The statue (PLATE 2) was found in April of 1823 in the course of excavations on the Esquiline in the Via de' Quattro Cantoni. Stamped bricks uncovered on the site (CIL. xv 852, 1) gave the names of the consuls for A. D. 134 and thereby dated the contents of the building as subsequent to that date, though presumably not later than the Antonine period. Apparently it was a sculptor's workshop or salesroom which had been revealed, since in addition to our Marsyas there appeared a version of the Capitoline Faun, two young dancing satyrs, the upper half of a male torso, and two nymphs with a sea-shell<sup>1</sup>.

The shop of an Antonine Roman marble-worker who specialised in nymphs and satyrs is not an altogether re-assuring provenance from which to expect information on an early classic group apparently still standing at the time on the Acropolis at Athens. However, if it copies a work by Myron, we should be able to discover some affiliation with the Diskobolos and we should find evidence of early (or mid-) fifth century technical procedure.

Unfortunately, the difference in subject-matter, — the half-bestial creature of the wild as opposed to the civilised Greek, the mature natural man as against the gymnastically developed youth, — obscures the terms of comparison. None the less, the extent of the differences is disconcerting. In the Diskobolos the features are sharply edged and schematically precise; in the Marsyas the edges are all chamfered and blurred, the curves broken and changeful. In the Diskobolos the surfaces in which the features are carved form long, even, and untroubled curving planes; in the Marsyas the forehead swells and is broken by undulant ridges, the cheeks rise and fall with their muscles. As a result, the expression of the Diskobolos is distant, impassive, unemotional, where that of the Marsyas is alert with a sort of animal shy cunning. *Animi sensus non expressisse (videtur)* applies perfectly to the Diskobolos; it does not apply at all to the Marsyas. The difference in the hair is even more disturbing. Instead of the flat cast skull-cap with the chiseled locks, the hair of the Marsyas flows in modeled strands which pass over and under one another. Exact parallels are not easy to find. However, the Ares Borghese in the Louvre<sup>2</sup> shows hair emerging from beneath the helmet in strands very comparable to the Marsyas, save that they are more uniform and less plastic and hence should certainly be earlier in date. As the anatomical stage of the Ares Borghese is at least as advanced as the Doryphoros, the Marsyas on this comparison should not be earlier than the final decades of the fifth century<sup>3</sup>.

Again comparing the Diskobolos with the Marsyas, there is the same difference in the pubes between schematic linear additions to a simply cast surface and a carefully modeled plastic variety attained primarily in the casting. Finally, nothing could be more unlike than the shape of the two heads, — the Diskobolos in profile showing a long low curve to an accentuated occiput, the Marsyas a square with lightly rounded corners running nearly straight into the line of the neck; in full-front, an almost equally great variety is apparent. Much of this enormous discrepancy may perhaps be explained away by claiming that the satyr-head derives from a tradition of terra-cotta masks; but the real crux is not merely the difference in general appearance, but the different morphological phase technically, which puts at least fifty years between the two heads. Note

<sup>1</sup> BENNDORF-SCHÖNE, *Die antiken Bildwerke des Lateranensischen Museums*, p. 142.

<sup>2</sup> *Encycl. Photogr. de l'Art*, III, p. 179.

<sup>3</sup> The Dionysos herm in the Chiaramonti (AMELUNG, *Vat. Kat.*, I pp. 401-3, no. 144, pl. 42; FURTWÄGLER, *Masterpieces*, fig. 19) offers an excellent parallel with its irregular and unschematic hair without much plastic salience on the head, its curious ledge of outcropping hair above the forehead

producing a flat contour to the crown, its vaguely lidded eyes and sensuous mouth; but unfortunately the date is in dispute. I believe that Amelung was right in assigning it to the end of the fifth century, and that the related type of Zeus Ammon (ASHMOLE, *Ince Blundell*, no. 126, pl. 9) is fundamentally so different in its treatment of the hair as to have no immediate bearing on the date of the "Dionysos".



particularly that in the Diskobolos the hair grows flat along the surface of the head, with which it runs completely parallel, while in the Marsyas it grows out of the neck and forehead, into which the individual salient strands melt away<sup>1</sup>. I have never seen this naturalistic treatment in fifth century sculpture. *Capillum quoque et pubem non emendatius fecisse quam rudis antiquitas instituisset* is perfectly intelligible for the Diskobolos, but is utterly wide of the mark for the Marsyas.

It should be equally easy to demonstrate the chronological gulf between the anatomical renderings of the nude, except that here the appeal to photographs is precarious<sup>2</sup> and the general level of our professional anatomical training (be it said openly amid archaeological company) is defective. I must therefore beg indulgence for my tedious descriptions.

In the Marsyas the thorax is not "caged" or otherwise isolated from the flanks, but invaded at the top by the serratus muscles, whose interwoven fingers are strongly salient and work over into the back (instead of, as in the Castel Porziano Diskobolos or the Naples Aristogeiton, being abruptly barred by the edge of the latissimus dorsi). At the side of the erect abdominal muscles, the groove which sets off the hip muscle begins faintly out of the fleshy lower abdomen, gains greatest intensity opposite the first transverse fold above the navel, and then vanishes<sup>3</sup>. The second transverse fold is sharply curved and the epigastric arch is strongly salient. But the wider bearing of these observations is not made clear by these remarks and is in reality extremely simple: the musculature is beginning to be modeled in terms of the individual muscles themselves instead of being created by bounding lines carved into rather uniform grooves. By contrast the Diskobolos, however accurate in intent, appears shallow and imprecise. This is equally obvious in the chest, where the pectoral muscles in the Marsyas are not long evenly sloping surfaces as in the Diskobolos or Aristogeiton but differentiated muscles actually attaching to the arms below the swell of the deltoid. The clavicle is fully and emphatically indicated. In the legs there is a far more intimate indication of the varying shapes, contrasting strongly with the ribbon-like treatment of the Diskobolos. Specifically, in the right leg, just under the groove of the great oblique there is a triangular depression representing (however sketchily) the iliacus, psoas, and pectineus; the sartorius is set off from the muscles on either side of it; in the left leg, the vastus externus and internus are distinguished from the central rectus femoris with an accuracy for which there is no precedent in the Diskobolos; in the lower leg (only the right one is ancient!) the soleus clearly emerges from beneath the great calf muscle (gastrocnemius); the peroneus longus is very evident and even the flexor longus digitorum is discernible. Particularly extraordinary (and except for the analysis in Della Seta completely unnoticed, but splendidly illustrated in his *Il Nudo*, fig. 95, from the cast) is the anatomy of the rear aspect of the left upper leg, where the tensor fasciae, the semitendinosus and vastus externus are set off and emphasised in a manner which (at least to my inexperienced eye) makes impossible for the Marsyas a date in the fifth century B. C.

But the really important observation to be made on the anatomy of the Marsyas is the deliberate, thorough-going, and successful differentiation between the corresponding muscles in the two halves of the body. In the back, the region of the two shoulder blades is naturally quite differently articulated for the raised and the lowered arm<sup>4</sup>. In front there is equally clear distinction between the two pectorals (with the right drawn up and thereby reduced almost to the level of the serratus beneath, the left strongly salient in compression), between the two oblique muscles at the hips, but most of all in the two upper legs. On the right, "Scarpa's triangle" is shown as a depression, on the left it is crossed diagonally by the contracted sartorius; and all the other muscles are similarly distinguished, in extension in the right as against contraction in the left. All this implies the famous Polykleitan chiasmus with its studied presentation of extension against contraction in the two sides of the body, and, more than that, the application of this chiasmus to a body in movement and action

<sup>1</sup> Well illustrated, Br.-Br. 611.

<sup>2</sup> The illustration in the Brunn-Bruckmann series (number 208) is useless; DELLA SETA, *Il Nudo*, figs. 93-95, is far better.

<sup>3</sup> This same phenomenon occurs in the Naples Aristogeiton, but with much more linear emphasis.

<sup>4</sup> The photograph from the cast which appears in DELLA SETA (fig. 95) happens, as so often from strongly illuminated

casts, to be misinformative. The over-emphatic sinkings and hollows which appear in the picture are of course present in the marble, but the modeled salience of the surrounding surfaces should be even more pronounced. Instead, the hard light has flattened these and thus completely failed to give the true effect of powerful modeling, for which again there is no mid-fifth century parallel.



instead of nearly static. In a word, the anatomical and stylistic phase is *post-Polykleitan*, so that the earliest possible date is the last decade of the fifth century, which is demonstrably too late for the activity of Myron of Eleutherai. In this observation lies the positive and formal proof that the satyr of the Lateran cannot be ascribed to Myron.

A much more general consideration points to the same conclusion. Satyrs in all manner of unusual poses are a favorite and a commonplace with the red-figure vase-painters of Myron's time and earlier. But these satyrs are equine, borrowing from horses their animal ears and long bushy tails. Toward the second half of the century the tails tend to become shorter; but it does not seem to be until the fourth century that the satyr-fashion undergoes a basic change to the stubby goat-tail and the human ears with only a pointed tip reminiscent of the animal. On the Lateran Marsyas both ears have been broken and restored, but enough of the original right ear (seldom reproduced) survives to prove that the restoration is essentially correct: the tip should probably be much more sharply pointed, but the base of the ear is human (PL. 3 A). As for the tail (PL. 3 B), the major part has been broken off and re-attached, but this attached portion is certainly ancient; and in any case, enough of the stump survives in the same block with the statue to show that only a goat's tail is possible. The long flowing horsetail which one usually sees in reconstructed casts of the group is therefore a gratuitous admission that a wholly different type of tail is demanded for any satyr by Myron. Actually the Lateran satyr belongs to the Pan-type (*Bocksatyr*) with tuft of hair over the forehead recalling the tiny sprouting horns, small tips to the ears, narrow slanting eyes, and a bob-tail; but the process of humanisation has already been almost completed. It is difficult to know how much certainty attaches to iconographic evidence of this kind. It would certainly be arguable that the "Pan-satyr" should have been represented somewhere in early-fifth century statuary art. But we do not anywhere find it, and to judge from the Attic vases, if it occurred, it would still show horns and possibly hoofs<sup>1</sup>. As far as we can grasp the general development, which by the time of Praxiteles has already produced the all-but-wholly-human satyr-boy, the Lateran Marsyas should fit in somewhere between Polykleitos and Praxiteles. There is an excellent article on the evolution of the satyr type in art in Roscher's *Lexikon s. v. "Satyros"*, but it tends to concentrate on the Hipposilene and disregard the parallel evolution of the Pan-satyr, which had already been treated *s. v. "Pan."* It is a further indication of advanced date that our Pan-satyr has been humanised, not merely in such externals as forehead-hair and ears, but in his assimilation anatomically to the athletic sculptural tradition. The long legs, the sinewy narrow torso, the short head are none of them distinctive of mid-fifth century canons of proportion, but readily paralleled later. The only plausible reason for hesitating to accept a fourth-century date for the statue is the pose, which displays an almost archaic exaggeration in its backward tilt, reminiscent of the artificial poses of the Selinus metopes from Temple E — the Amazon leaning violently away from Herakles, the giant collapsing before Athena's onset. But this effect is largely the fault of the modern trimming of the plinth, which presents to the spectator and hence, with deplorable re-iteration, to the camera and the student, an aspect which was never intended to be emphasised. The satyr has been consistently photographed from the wrong angle.

Many years ago, before the Frankfurt Athena had been added to form a group composition, E. A. Gardner characterised the Lateran Marsyas by quoting the Homeric description of the man who starts back from a suddenly seen snake. The reference seemed apt, but the behavior (if motivated by Athena's discarded flutes) seemed inappropriate; and this same peculiar taint of the inappropriate has clung to every reconstruction of the group. The Silene is posed with all the unreality of dramatic pretense and all its unconvincing artifice. So turned, one cannot help wondering whether he may not be only a dancing satyr after all, a mere *genre* figure without reference to the myth of Marsyas. Yet there are no such dancing figures on the vases, where dancers of one sort or another abound. If we search in our sculptural repertory for a related pose, we shall gain no help from the Actaeon of the British Museum marble statuette<sup>2</sup>, who exhibits the identical pose, but motivates it logically and naturally by shrinking away from his dogs, yet striving to beat them off. The most that could be derived from the Actaeon would be the discovery of the sculptural period in which this pose

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ROSCHER'S *Lexikon*, III 1411 f. *s. v. "Pan."*  
Cf. also BROMMER, *Satyroï* (1937), 24: "Bereits im 4. Jahr-

hundert durchdringen sich die Vorstellungen von den Silenen mit denen der Pane".  
<sup>2</sup> Br.-Br. 209 A.



was current; but in this instance we should probably gain very little information from so late and indifferent a version.

More pertinent assistance comes unexpectedly from the heroic statue of Protesilaos in the Metropolitan Museum<sup>1</sup> (PL. 4). The copyist's support here takes the shape of a heavy twisted tree-trunk which produces a singularly unfortunate effect when the statue is viewed from in back<sup>2</sup> and hardly less so from in front<sup>3</sup>. In the latter view, the shield is pointed edge-on toward the spectator<sup>4</sup>; the missing spear, if restored, would be directed at the spectator's feet; while the missing legs of the statue produce an effect of instability in the pose. All these are so many indications that this aspect could not have been intended as the primary one. A fragmentary replica in the British Museum<sup>5</sup> shows a base carved to represent a ship's prow (on which the warrior is standing) with an indication of waves on only one side, thus betraying the face which was to serve as the pedestal front. From all this, and from the Protesilaos theme on the coins<sup>6</sup>, it is certain that the main view-point, for which the composition was intended, is the profile<sup>7</sup>. As in the Marsyas the feet are set nearly at right angles to each other, the weight is carried on the bent leg set back, the right arm is raised overhead, while the left is lowered (but as the legs are interchanged in the Marsyas, the resultant rhythm is not identical), and the whole body leans backward preparatory to moving forward. The quasi-frontal view with its perturbing backward tilt is consequently an unavoidable incidental, which does not represent the sculptor's intended effect for the spectator. If we apply this analogy to the Marsyas — and there is nothing in the irregular shaped and retrimmed base, with its modern face carrying the pontifical inscription, to oppose such a suggestion<sup>8</sup>, — a wholly new conception emerges (PL. 5). The satyr is stealing forward cautiously, in the act of shifting his weight forward to the foot which has been advanced on tip-toe, while his hands display that combination of balancing and mere reflex gesture which any one may see who watches a child steal up noiselessly to surprise some unsuspecting victim. The pose is, of course, much older in Greek art than this use of it in the Lateran statue. It is the pose which the satyrs use on the Greek vases when they steal up to assault, maraud, or steal. Douris and Brygos knew it and loved to draw it. From painting it was adopted into sculpture, and here, by ingenious adaptation, it has been used for the Marsyas who, having stolen forward with his eyes fixed on the coveted object, will in another moment stoop and reach noiselessly forward to snatch the flutes.

With the recovery of the proper viewpoint, all the unnaturalness, the angularity, and also (alas!) the much vaunted "metope composition" disappears, to be supplanted by a straightforward work based on physical actuality and intense naturalism. It is an easier and more fluent pose than the Protesilaos and consequently should be somewhat later in date. However, it shares with the Protesilaos the interesting device of the sloping base, which serves to throw the upper part of the figure closer to the vertical and helps to overcome some of the angular awkwardness of the position. It is inherently probable that the originals of Actaeon, Protesilaos, and Marsyas were not very distant from one another in time, because such a pose with its imperfect solution of frontality and its unavoidable awkward aspects was likely to be superseded, to be completely discarded. The half-turning pseudo-pirouette, as a device for breaking frontality, seems to belong to the last quarter of the fifth century and may be discovered in the Nike restraining the bull on the Nike Temple Parapet and in some of the Nereids in the British Museum. When this is taken in connection with the post-Polykleitan *chiasmus in action* which is so pronounced in the satyr, it becomes probable that the date for both Protesilaos and Marsyas should be sought near the year 400 B. C. And actually, a statue of Prote-

<sup>1</sup> G. M. A. RICHTER, *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, I (1929) 187-200.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* fig. 6.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* fig. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* fig. 3.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* figs. 8-11.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* figs. 13-14.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* figs. 3 and 5.

<sup>8</sup> Benndorf and Schöne were wrong in thinking that the base is not ancient. Amelung (in Helbig's *Führer*<sup>3</sup> II p. 18)

gives the correct verdict, but without adding that the re-assembled plinth was probably trimmed, as it certainly was smoothed, to give a uniform surface for the pontifical inscription; hence no conclusion can be drawn for the original orientation of the statue. The tilt of the upper surface of the plinth from the satyr's left foot to his right is certainly ancient; the secondary tilt from tree-trunk toward the inscription is more doubtful, and it might improve the pose if it were eliminated.



silaos is mentioned in Pliny as the work of Deinomenes, whose *floruit* is set by him along with that of Naukydes in the 95th Olympiad (400-397 B. C.).

Against this must be set the considered opinion of Miss Richter, who in her excellent publication of the Protesilaos statue of the Metropolitan favors for its bronze original a date as early as 450-445 B. C. But it must be remembered that such a conclusion is not merely justified, but unavoidable, if the Lateran Marsyas (to which Miss Richter notes a resemblance in pose, in "sense of freedom and of movement", and in anatomical indications) really represents attainments possible for Attic sculpture of so early a period. Other criteria for the date of the Protesilaos are the closely curled hair, for which a parallel ("not unlike") exists in Myron's Diskobolos and the Perikles herm, and the simple structure of the face, paralleled in the Doryphoros and the Amazons (though here the comparison would rather suggest a later date). The Protesilaos torso in the British Museum was at first officially catalogued as Hellenistic<sup>1</sup>, but this verdict was disputed by Schröder, who championed an attribution to the fifth century<sup>2</sup>. The excellent illustration accompanying Schröder's comments shows how very close is the agreement between the British Museum torso and the version in the Metropolitan; but it will also show that, if the Marsyas be eliminated from the argument, the anatomical evidence for an early date is extremely precarious.

The literary sources mention only two statues of Protesilaos. We have already referred to Pliny, who very briefly alludes to such a work by Deinomenes<sup>3</sup>, and elsewhere<sup>4</sup> lists this sculptor with Naukydes, Canachus, and Patroclus as most active during the 95th Olympiad (400-397 B. C.). Naturally if our Protesilaos belongs to the period of 450-445, it can hardly be the work of Deinomenes. The second literary reference to a statue of Protesilaos occurs in the *Heroikos* of Philostratos, in the course of which highly literary and classicistic dialogue, one of the characters, a local vintner, finds occasion to describe<sup>5</sup> the tumulus of Protesilaos in the Thracian Chersonnese opposite Troy, and the ruined sanctuary with its statue of the hero mounted upon a ship's prow, wearing a chlamys in the Thessalian manner. It is this statue which must be represented on the Roman coin of the immediately adjoining town of Elaious<sup>6</sup>, wherein the base is more conspicuous than the statue, being of equal height with it and of great elaboration<sup>7</sup> and the statue bears only a superficial resemblance to the Metropolitan Marble. None the less, it is likely that the marble is ultimately derived from the statue in the sanctuary, and for the following reasons:

Protesilaos is an extremely rare theme both in vase-painting and in sculpture. It is the literary and sentimental aspect of the legend which is responsible for the iconographic tradition of the sarcophagi<sup>8</sup>. Nowhere in the repertory is there to be found anything even remotely resembling our two marbles. The British Museum torso comes from Kyzikos on the Sea of Marmora. With a famous shrine and image of Protesilaos in the neighborhood, on a site abundantly familiar to every Kyzicene returning from the Aegean, it is extremely unlikely that any foreign (let us say, Thessalian) version of the hero would be in demand or would be obtainable in Kyzikos. It must be remembered that copies were made by pointing off from actual prototypes, not improvised, and hence derive from some immediate ancestor with which they agree minutely. (Thus, the British Museum torso so precisely resembles the Metropolitan version that a missing portion on the right chest and side could be supplied in the latter by a cast from the former.) Now, the Protesilaos sanctuary on the Hellespont was plundered of its "great wealth, its gold and silver vases, and bronze, and raiment, and other dedications" in 480 B. C. by the Persian satrap Artayktes, and the precinct was converted by him into farmland<sup>9</sup>. Artayktes was subsequently seized by the Greeks, "a little beyond Aigospotamoi". Whoever has forgotten the characteristically Herodotean anecdote of the frying fish which leapt and writhed to remind the Persian captive of his misdeeds against Protesilaos of Elaious, will find it in the 120th chapter

<sup>1</sup> A. H. SMITH, *Catalogue of Greek Sculpture in the British Museum*, III no. 1538.

<sup>2</sup> *Jhb.* XXIX (1914) pp. 161-8 and pl. 10.

<sup>3</sup> *N. H.* XXXIV 77.

<sup>4</sup> *N. H.* XXXIV 49.

<sup>5</sup> FL. PHILOSTRATI *Opera*, ed. C. L. Kayser, Teubner (1871), II p. 140 f. = 672 = 38.

<sup>6</sup> On the topography, consult DEMANGEL, *Le Tumulus dit de Protésilas*, Fouilles du Corps d'Occupation français de Con-

stantinople, I, Paris (Boccard), 1926. For the coin, the best reproduction is that from an enlarged cast in Miss Richter's article, *op. cit.*, fig. 13.

<sup>7</sup> The proportions on the coin suggest a ship's prow some 12 feet long and 6 feet high, with the statue centered upon it.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. ROSCHER's *Lexikon* s. v. "Protesilaos".

<sup>9</sup> HDT. IX 116.



of the ninth book of the *History*. A reputed offer of a hundred talents to the god in return for his plundered treasures was refused by the Athenian general, and Artayktes was crucified. From that time on, the Thracian Chersonnese falls under Athenian control and its towns appear in the Attic tribute-lists. The despoiled shrine of Protesilaos must soon have begun to accumulate new dedications and new treasures. A bronze statue of the hero — though costly — might have been supplied at any time in the fifth century; but the commission would probably have fallen to an Athenian *atelier*. But as Schröder noted,<sup>1</sup> the style of the torso from Kyzikos is not Attic. It was not until 405 B. C. that an occasion arose which might have afforded sufficient funds for a really costly votive statue at the shrine, with adequate guarantee against the employ of an Attic artist. Close to the spot where Artayktes was captured and Protesilaos was avenged — (and by this time the Herodotean anecdote would have become common property), — the entire naval might of the Athenian empire was annihilated in a single lightning blow. Only a dozen ships escaped the terrible *débacle* of Aigospotamoi; the remainder — some 168 in number, each with a crew of some 200 men — fell into the hands of the Spartan admiral, Lysander, who put to death the three or four thousand Athenian citizens included. Whether ransom was exacted for any of the others we do not know; but the total booty must have been very great, judging by the splendid memorial of 37 bronze statues which were dedicated to Delphic Apollo out of the divine tithe of the proceeds<sup>2</sup>. These bronze statues represented 28 captains of the allied Spartan fleet in addition to Lysander with his pilot and his soothsayer and the gods who favored him, — the Dioscuri and Poseidon, Zeus and Apollo and Artemis. The artists of these bronzes were almost entirely Peloponnesian: two of them, Dameas and Athenodoros, are listed by Pliny as pupils of Polykleitos; another, Alypos of Sikyon, is elsewhere mentioned by Pausanias as a pupil of Naukydes; and two others, Patrokles and Kanachos, who between them contributed ten statues to the group, are listed (as we have already noted) by Pliny, together with Deinomenes, as contemporaries of Naukydes in the 95th Olympiad (400-397 B. C.). It may be taken for granted that Protesilaos, the local protective hero of the straits where the victory was won, received some not altogether negligible share from so great plunder. Nor would it be straining the analogy to suppose that, after the Hellespontine towns fell into Spartan hands, the victory dedication at the shrine of Protesilaos included among other statues a bronze of the hero upon the prow of a ship, by a Peloponnesian artist such as Deinomenes<sup>3</sup>. Pliny's *floruit* is generally held to be based on the time of an artist's *chef-d'œuvre*. The date 400 B. C. for Patrokles and Kanachos would seem to be taken from their contributions to the Aigospotamoi dedication at Delphi. If Deinomenes is grouped with them by Pliny under the same date, it would not be surprising if he shared in a similar activity. The Deinomenes whom Pliny mentions as the artist of a bronze statue of Protesilaos should therefore be the same as his Deinomenes who was most active around 400 B. C., and this statue may plausibly be identified as that of the Protesilaos shrine on the Hellespont near Aigospotamoi; this in turn should surely be the prototype from which was made the copy for Kyzikos, which survives in the British Museum torso; and this in turn is certainly identical with the version in the Metropolitan. Such a chain of plausible probabilities (they are nothing more!) with no strikingly weak link, marked by mutual compatibility and intelligibility and complete isolation from any conflicting evidence, must be seriously considered and tested for its strength. But the test must depend primarily on the technical evidence supplied by the morphology of style. All circumstantial and extraneous considerations apart, do the two marble versions of the Protesilaos betoken a date at the very end of the fifth century B. C., and have they affinities with the Peloponnesian school of bronze-casters of that time? If both these questions can be answered in the affirmative, we shall at last have some genuine reason for believing in our recovery of the Protesilaos of Deinomenes.

<sup>1</sup> *Jhb.* xxix (1914) 162. But Schröder also does not consider the style Argive, so much as "Ionian", in which opinion he was perhaps unduly influenced by the provenance. (The identification as Protesilaos could not be made until the advent of the Metropolitan statue.)

<sup>2</sup> *Paus.* x 9, 7-11.

<sup>3</sup> Is this the explanation of the peculiar phrase ἱδρύται δὲ ναύαρχος in Philostratos' description of the statue? Was Protesilaos "dedicated as an admiral" or "set in the post of

a commander of the fleet" in order to suggest that he was guiding the Spartan ships at Aigospotamoi? Did Philostratos know, with Liddell & Scott, that ναύαρχος was specifically the title of the Spartan admiral-in-chief, "whereas the Athenian admirals retained the name of στρατηγοί"? I should much doubt this subtlety in so late a writer. Some will prefer to interpret the verb in a middle sense: the dedicant was an admiral.



The crumpled *chlamys* which serves for drapery may perhaps superficially suggest the Oinomaos of the east pediment of the Zeus Temple at Olympia; but the differences are profound. In the Olympia garment the folds are linear and continuous, a mere surface treatment of a plastically inarticulated mass, on which the hem lies flat in zigzags. A couple of decades later, just after the mid-point of the century, the Anakreon Borghese<sup>1</sup> begins to show a more plastic texture, but still works mainly in terms of deep narrow furrows setting off flat ribbons which cling obstinately to all the protrusions and recessions of the nude model. These are of course familiar results of the linear attack of the archaic period, not yet completely overcome. The Protesilaos must be considerably later; for here the border ends in complicated contours, and the furrows stop abruptly in mid-career and lose themselves under ridges which, though narrow, are no longer flat or monotonous. The whole effect is of an elastic texture, tense and vibrant. Some of the short slot-like furrows are probably due to the copyist since they do not recur on the British Museum copy (which gives the impression of deriving from a somewhat superior version), and they must be excluded in searching for pertinent parallels. These will not be found anywhere on the Parthenon, if only because the Protesilaos drapery is not rendered in a marble style at all, but in a bronze-caster's. Some of the Amazons show a related treatment; the back of the Berlin Amazon<sup>2</sup>, though of much finer texture, employs some of the same devices, and there are similar passages between the breasts and encircling the waist of the Amazon Pamfili<sup>3</sup>. A strikingly similar method of indicating closely crinkled material with ridges which keep losing themselves like waves and end in a heavy serpentine border has been employed on the draped Artemis torso in Berlin<sup>4</sup> which Blümel refers to a bronze original from the late-fourth century; and I have noted occasional parallels on several other Artemis statues from other portions of the same century. Such comparisons are neither conclusive nor very satisfactory; but they should serve to show that the drapery of the Protesilaos offers little support for any date as early as the middle of the fifth century. It probably reflects a fairly commonplace drapery style in bronze; but this can hardly have come into use much before the Polykleitan School.

What criteria exist for distinguishing mid-fifth century anatomy from preceding and subsequent stages? Unless very general principles are employed, the argument over detail is in danger of lapsing into mere subjective judgments. The mere recognition and naming of muscles is perhaps only confusing. But if the morphological evolution underlying the indication and expression of anatomic detail is understood, we shall have under observation a completely objective phenomenon. For this end it will be useful here first to distinguish between the superficial and the solid forms.

By "solid forms", reference is intended to the volume of stone from which the anatomical part is hewn. Early sculpture is analytic and conceptual: it makes each distinguishable part separately, as it comes to it. Thus, arms show a tendency to be distinct from the torso; their attachment fails to be extensive and far-reaching. In consequence, the deltoid is not intimately allied with the pectoral — one belongs to the arm, the other to the trunk. The "point of the shoulder" falls too far out from the neck; the whole arm, like a jointed doll's, looks exterior to the body. Very good examples of the survival of this archaism well along in the fifth century will be found in the fragmentary citharode Apollo in the Louvre<sup>5</sup>, the Conservatori Charioteer<sup>6</sup>, the Cassel Apollo<sup>7</sup>, the "Apollo" of the Olympia west pediment, to name only a few of many. In the same way, and owing to the same fundamental principle, the legs end at the inguinal furrow and the great oblique muscle<sup>8</sup>, and each major portion of the leg seems to have been made separately and to possess a discrete existence of its own, so that *e. g.* the control exercised on the tibia by the sartorius muscle finds no adequate expression. If the Protesilaos is examined with these restrictions in mind, it will be discovered that it is not subject to any of them. The arms invade the torso at the shoulders; the leg is drawn up to become an integral unit with the trunk; the muscular structure of the leg above the knee crosses and penetrates into the portion below the knee. As a result there is a common rhythm or flow to the entire body instead of the sectional emphasis of the mid-fifth century and earlier statues.

By "superficial forms" is intended the treatment of the surface of the stone to indicate the anatomical detail. In archaic art, this detail is purely linear, comparable to that on red-figure vases but with a carved

<sup>1</sup> ARNDT, *La Glyptothèque Ny-Carlsberg*, pl. 23.

<sup>2</sup> BLÜMEL, *Berlin Katalog*, IV pl. 68.

<sup>3</sup> Br.-Br. 688.

<sup>4</sup> BLÜMEL, *Berlin Katalog*, V pl. 68.

<sup>5</sup> *Encycl. Photogr. de l'Art*, III 157 B.

<sup>6</sup> DELLA SETA, *Il Nudo nell'Arte*, I p. 197, fig. 88.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 194-5, figs. 86-87.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. the same examples.



groove substituted for the painted line. As time goes on, these grooves are converted into shallow channels, and the areas which they enclose are given a steadily more accentuated protrusion. By the Parthenon period, the heroic style is in full career. Concave furrows set off convex areas with strong plastic contrast<sup>1</sup>, but the actual function of the various muscular elements is still disregarded: they are monumental, but mechanically speaking they do not work. It is precisely here that I imagine the Polykleitan School to have made its great contribution by studying and altering the protruding forms enclosed by these traditional linear outlines. The growing individualisation of the various muscles is very apparent in the Polykleitan Herakles (of which there is a good version in the Terme<sup>2</sup>), which even more than the Doryphoros or Diadoumenos should be studied for the late-fifth century anatomical trend. The anatomical forms of the Protesilaos can be evolved out of this Polykleitan norm, but the reverse evolution would be impossible. The intricate minor changes of surface, producing a complexity of shifting light and shadow, the differentiation of emphasis in the concavities, destroying the hard outlines of the older manner, all characterise the Protesilaos as post-Polykleitan. More specifically, whoever has the patience and the opportunity to study the individual muscles one by one, will discover over again almost precisely the anatomical knowledge of the sculptor of the Marsyas. The precise forms are not always the same, but the anatomical repertory is identical in the torso and lower limbs.

The head (as so often in this period) is a difficult and misleading element. Personally, I find the features of the Protesilaos<sup>3</sup> harsh and empty, and can only imagine that its subtleties have escaped the copyist. The flat eyebrow, colliding angularly with the vertical of the nose and flaring out and upward at the temple, is generically Polykleitan rather than Attic. The enormous thick neck is not early. The indication of the hair is schematic and formal and thus offers perfectly well-founded encouragement to set back the date; but this is a difficult element to control where a copy of a bronze is involved. Actually, the head is at almost the identical stage of development as that of the Standing Diskobolos attributed to Naukydes, uniquely preserved in the version in the Museo Mussolini<sup>4</sup>. This exhibits several extremely closely related details even though the general expression of the features is not at all similar. But our knowledge of classical Greek sculpture would profit greatly if we would look more at bodies and less at heads. The Standing Diskobolos, with his downward directed gaze, straddle pose, and implied forward movement, is a precursor of the Marsyas, in which every element has been strained and heightened. Unfortunately, I can see no shred of evidence for insisting that the Standing Diskobolos must be attributed to Naukydes, however apparent it may be that it is a Peloponnesian work of the end of the fifth century. It is known that Naukydes made a diskobolos: it is known that he was a Peloponnesian bronze-worker active around 400 B. C.: except for Myron, no other sculptors of diskoboloi are mentioned in our extant sources. But from such casual premisses what binding conclusion can be drawn? The theme must have been a common one among athletic victor statues.

All the elements thus passed in review combine to make it extremely improbable that the original of the Protesilaos should be dated earlier than the close of the fifth century, and highly probable that it should be assigned to the Peloponnesian School in the generation following Polykleitos. Nor is this, broadly considered, in the least unreasonable. The bodily proportions and superficial anatomy of such a "Lysippan" (i. e. advanced fourth century) statue as the Berlin athlete illustrated on plate 717 of Brunn-Bruckmann's series<sup>5</sup> could be evolved directly and systematically out of the Protesilaos, whereas it would be a complete reversal of the logical trend to put the Protesilaos first and allow it to be followed immediately by the more formal Polykleitan manner exhibited by the Doryphoros and thereafter by the less formal, more naturalistic, and much more immediately related style of the "Lysippan" statue. Wherever we can control the sequence of evolutionary morphology in Greek sculpture, it is consistent and orderly; we shall not help our understanding of it by arbitrarily upsetting or inverting the intelligible causal nexus of its terms.

It must be granted that the case of the Protesilaos is not unique, but that, to the close student of the evolution of anatomic form, almost equally drastic redating is unavoidable for several other well known monuments. Thus the youthful boxer in the Louvre<sup>6</sup> in pose, proportions, and anatomical treatment (as well as hair) follows the Protesilaos so closely that he must be assigned to the same period and school. In Mu-

<sup>1</sup> E. g. the Poseidon torso from the west pediment; well illustrated *ibid.* p. 231, fig. 102.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 266 f., figs. 114 f.

<sup>3</sup> RICHTER, *op. cit.* figs. 15-18.

<sup>4</sup> Br.-Br. 682-5.

<sup>5</sup> BLÜMEL, *Berlin Katalog*, v K 233, pls. 45-46.

<sup>6</sup> *Encycl. Photogr. de l'Art*, III 157 A.



nich, a complete chronological barrier must be drawn between the earlier Diomedes with his "sectional" anatomy, and the later "*Oeleingiesser*" with his long fluid lines and individualised muscles<sup>1</sup>. On the other hand, the Lansdowne Herakles<sup>2</sup> exhibits the older manner and hence cannot be post-Polykleitan. The pair of youths in running or wrestling pose in the long gallery of the Conservatori belong in the same environment as the Protesilaos and the Marsyas; fortunately, the connection of one of them with the Standing Diskobolos of "Naukydes" has already been noted and explained by Ashmole<sup>3</sup>.

In such an article as the present, which seeks to confine itself to the museographical material in Rome, a far-reaching study of the transition between fifth and fourth century sculpture would exceed both the writer's ambition and his competence. I can only hope that enough of a stylistic background and morphological environment has been sketched in, to give some plausibility to my very genuine conviction that the Marsyas of the Lateran is the copy of a late-fifth or more probably early-fourth century work in an advanced naturalistic anatomic manner such as can have no possible connection with the author of the crouching Diskobolos, whom we have agreed to identify with Myron.

What then is the true nature of the error which has put the Lateran satyr under Myron's name in every handbook and treatise on Greek sculpture?

In order to reply to so reasonable a question, we must first review once more the evidence which led from the Lateran statue to the sculptor of the Diskobolos. Our findings will illustrate only too clearly how precarious it is to venture to make the equation between an ancient literary source and an extant archaeological document.

Pliny is our sole warrant that Myron *fecit* .... *et satyrum admirantem tibus et Minervam*. We believe that a group is intended, since otherwise the Minerva should have kept its proper alphabetic place in the list, between the discobolus and the Perseus. We may assume that if Pliny had meant *tibus Minervamque admirantem*, he might have been trusted to say so, and hence we infer that the satyr was regarding the flutes, but not necessarily regarding Athena. *Admirantem* is a poor and weak description for the stealthily attentive, tiptoeing satyr of the Lateran, but it may be true that he was gazing fixedly at a pair of flutes upon the ground in front of him, and hence Pliny's choice of *admirantem* strictly neither proves nor disproves anything. Nothing is said by Pliny concerning the location of this group; but as it is included in his book on bronze, the material at least seems certain.

Pausanias visited Athens during (or shortly before) the reign of Marcus Aurelius and has left us his archaeological description of the Acropolis. After mentioning (I 23, 7) a bronze boy holding a laver, by Myron's son Lycius, and Myron's Perseus, "who has accomplished his deed against Medusa", he describes the sanctuary of Brauronian Artemis and shortly thereafter adds (I 24, 1), "Here there is a statue of Athena striking the Silene Marsyas for picking up the flutes which the goddess would have preferred to remain discarded". There is no further comment, and the name of the sculptor is not given, though if it were Myron, it would have been only natural for Pausanias to have mentioned it. So simple a description, because it has so much depending on it, may perhaps contain more than at first appears. As it would be idle to debate any but the Greek version itself, we must start from the accepted text of Pausanias, --

Ἐνταῦθα Ἀθηνᾶ πεποίηται τὸν Σιληνὸν Μαρσύαν παίονσα, ὅτι δὴ τοὺς αὐλοὺς ἀνέλοιτο, ἐρριφθαι σφᾶς τῆς θεοῦ βουλομένης.

The optative in ἀνέλοιτο is unexpected after a primary tense, but perhaps the participles serve for an imperfect — "as she was striking" and "since her desire was". Pausanias is notoriously careless in such grammatical niceties<sup>4</sup>, and the optative most probably has resulted merely from a feeling that the assignment of a pretext or occasion through ὅτι δὴ has produced *oratio obliqua*. The difficult hurdle to jump is not the mood of ἀνέλοιτο, but its tense, which unmistakably announces that Marsyas has already picked up the discarded flutes. In translation, παίονσα may be weakened from the actual performance to a mere threat or gesture, — "making to strike", "threatening", — without outraging the Greek. None the less, this seems an even more inapt description of the Lateran satyr than Pliny's *admirantem tibus*, for we can hardly restore a pair of flutes in the missing hands of our Marsyas without utterly destroying the intelligibility of the pose. In

<sup>1</sup> Both well illustrated in DELLA SETA, pp. 278-81, figs. 119-121.

<sup>2</sup> Br.-Br. 691-2.

<sup>3</sup> JHS. XLII (1922) p. 240, cf. pl. VIII.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. HITZIG-BLÜMNER'S *Pausanias* I 264 *ad loc.*



any event, although either Pliny's or Pausanias' description can, for better or worse, be reconciled with the Lateran statue, they cannot be reconciled with each other *and* with the statue. If the Lateran Marsyas is regarding the flutes, then he has not picked them up; if the Lateran Marsyas has picked them up, then he is not regarding the flutes; if the Marsyas of Pliny and Pausanias be combined so as to have picked up the flutes and to be regarding them, he is not the satyr of the Lateran. Hence, whatever equation we may choose to draw, we cannot reasonably hold that the Lateran Satyr is Pliny's Marsyas of Myron which Pausanias saw on the Acropolis. Even so, we may have to let the contradiction pass, since Pliny or Pausanias (or both) may have been careless and inaccurate. Fortunately, it seems as though we had some further knowledge of the group on the Athenian Acropolis.

Attic copper coinage of the Roman Empire, under Hadrian and the Antonines and again under Gordian III (A. D. 238-244), not infrequently reproduces statuary motives of famous local monuments<sup>1</sup>. Among such antiquarian reminiscences on these late coins there occurs a group of two figures (*cf.* PL. 6A) which, by dint of repetition on various badly worn specimens, supplies a tail to mark a nude satyr and a crested helmet to distinguish an armed Athena. So much information cannot really leave us in serious doubt as to the subject intended: it must be Athena and Marsyas in their encounter over the discarded flutes. The various extant numismatic versions of this single and simple theme are illustrated on plate 89 (nos. 26-34) of Svoronos' *Monnaies d'Athènes*. In two instances<sup>2</sup> (nos. 31 and 32) the Marsyas seems leaner and sparer, with his extended leg nearly straight, and his torso slightly tilted backward, while the Athena bends at the waist, around which her himation seems to be draped with its free end hanging like a scarf from her bent left forearm, and seems to have her right arm also bent back at the elbow, and to have weight-leg and free-leg clearly distinguished, with a flare at the base of her drapery — in short, to show a less severe and later type. Sauer therefore thought that two distinct groups were reproduced. In his careful and important study of the numismatic evidence in his article in the *Jahrbuch*<sup>3</sup>, he left no doubt of the complete differentiation of the feminine figure in the two types, but was uncertain of the identification of the characters in the second type because the head of the "Athena" had been obliterated so that no helmet had survived and the satyr was tailless. Yet the general theme and the grouping are unmistakably the same as on the other coins, and if the Marsyas is a Pan-satyr like the Lateran figure, which it so greatly resembles in the correct profile view (PL. 5), the objection and the difficulty vanish. Two further coins (Svoronos' nos. 33 and 34), issued under Gordian, have been held to show still another arrangement, or else to be a merely imaginary variant; but it does not seem to have been noticed that in these coins the types and positions of the two figures have not been reversed as in a mirror<sup>4</sup> but merely shown from the back instead of the front. In the best reproduction of one of these coins<sup>5</sup>, it may be seen that the Athena shows vertical folds reaching to the neck and the Marsyas' forward arm extends *across* the torso; they are therefore seen from in back, and all the details of both figures are precisely those which the group of Type A would show if the figures were viewed from that side instead of from in front. The conclusion is permissible that this group (Type A), since it has been represented on the coins in both aspects, was set up in the open so that it could be viewed from both sides, and that it was still standing as late as the middle of the third century after Christ.

But were there really, as Sauer thought, two different groups standing in Athens, to be copied on the Hadrianic coins? And if so, which of these is the group which Pausanias recorded on the Acropolis, somewhere between the Brauronian sanctuary and the Parthenon? The obvious temptation is to answer "Neither", since even in so wretched a medium as the corroded bronze coins, it does not appear as though Athena were striking the satyr, while the latter seems to be dancing rather than holding flutes. But here we are suddenly confronted with the surprising observation that, though the satyr on the coins does not at all correspond to the backward tilted pose with which we are so familiar from the accepted photographs of the Lateran Marsyas, he does agree surprisingly well with the statue in the profile position which we have preferred for it and

<sup>1</sup> There is a partial list in FRAZER's Commentary to the present passage.

<sup>2</sup> By the great courtesy of the Staatliche Münzsammlung in Munich in immediate response to a written request, I am able to show in PL. 6B an enlarged photograph from a cast

of the Munich example (SVOR. 89, 31) not reproduced by Sauer.

<sup>3</sup> *Jhb.* XXIII (1908) 126-30.

<sup>4</sup> As Svoronos wrongly asserted, *Das Athener Nationalmuseum*, p. 138 ("Spiegelbild").

<sup>5</sup> *Jhb.* XXIII (1908) p. 125, fig. 1.



reproduced in our own illustration on PL. 5. And if we must choose between the two types, it is the slightly backward tilted, tiptoed, lean and tailless satyr of Type B which agrees with our Lateran statue, as Svoronos long ago remarked <sup>1</sup>.

It has already been emphasised that the coins fall into two groups, one showing an Athena in simpler and severer costume with both hands dropped below her waist, the other a more gracefully posed figure with arms bent at the elbow. The satyr associated with the goddess is also slightly different, since in the "earlier" Type A both knees are bent, while in the "later" Type B the figure is more on tiptoe, the right leg straighter, the forms sparer and more sinewy, and the tail seems to be missing, so that if present it must be of the Pan type. No one would be justified, when working with a late and badly preserved coin, in laying any stress on these differences, which are after all rather minor, were it not that they run parallel with the undeniably intentional and extensive differences in the Athenas. But, as ill luck will have it, on precisely these coins with the more active satyr, the upper part of the body has been destroyed, so that there is no possibility of discovering whether there were any more extensive differences in the torso, arms, and head. We are consequently left only with the probability (but not the certainty) that if the Lateran satyr really has any connection with monuments on the Athenian Acropolis, he should be connected with the later (fourth century?) group of the gracefully posed Athena.

But we have not yet ventured to answer the query whether we are seriously to believe in two distinct statuary groups at Athens, illustrating an identical and highly unusual theme, and separated in their execution by perhaps less than a century. The case of the twofold groups of Harmodius and Aristogeiton is easily intelligible and duly explained by Pausanias (I 8, 5). But a similar explanation for the two Athena-Marsyas groups is hardly plausible or even possible, and any other hypothesis is hard to devise. The evidence of the Roman coins forces us to assume that both groups were in existence in A. D. 117/8 in the time of Hadrian and that at least one of them was still extant under Gordian. Presumably therefore both were visible when Pausanias visited Athens. But what binding conclusion can we derive from this welter of evidence? How can we possibly prove what the Lateran Marsyas has to do with all this material, still less what affair he is of Myron's?

As every student knows, the material evidence is not herewith completely exhausted. There are still the Finlay vase and the Berlin oinochoë. Fortunately both of these can be disposed of in fairly summary fashion.

Both will be found reproduced in Miss Richter's *Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* (figs. 586-7) as well as in most handbooks. The Berlin oinochoë is red-figured, dating (I should imagine) from late in the third quarter of the fifth century, and was found at Vari, outside Athens. On it, the satyr has a high bald forehead, a small beard, an equine tail, and is shown in an exaggerated lunging pose wholly unlike anything on the coins, though it might possibly be taken for a travesty of the Lateran Marsyas — were it not that the vase should have been painted several years before the original Lateran Marsyas was cast. The Athena of the vase cannot be connected with any known statuary type. The simplest assumption must be that the vase painting illustrates the same theme, but otherwise need have no connection with either of the groups appearing on the coins. The Finlay vase is of marble, of late Attic manufacture, and shows a relief of a satyr dancing behind or possibly pursuing a fleeing Athena who is none other than the Athena of the Madrid puteal (and hence most probably borrowed ultimately from the east pediment of the Parthenon). The satyr is the approximate mirror-image of the Lateran Marsyas and hence (since such mirror-reversals belong to the technique of the neo-Attic relief) quite possibly drawn from the same original; but because of the completely alien Athena, such a pastiche really tells us nothing at all.

Of far more importance than these uncertain echoes is the replica of the Lateran Marsyas which was found a few years ago on the site of the Villa of Domitian at Castel Gandolfo and, at the time of writing, reposes in a huge brick cryptoporticus beneath the lovely Papal gardens which look out over the Campagna from the rim of the old crater of the Alban lake. There is a brief mention, accompanied by an illustration from the poor photograph then available, in the *Anzeiger* to the 48th volume of the *Jahrbuch* (for 1933) <sup>2</sup>. The

<sup>1</sup> In his text to the Finlay Vase, *Das Athener Nationalmuseum*, pp. 136-148.

<sup>2</sup> P. 591, fig. 3. Official announcement of the torso, with due emphasis on its superiority to the Lateran version,



unfailing courtesy of the authorities at the Vatican and at Castel Gandolfo afforded an opportunity to test the importance of this copy and to study it at leisure. Its value for the present discussion lies in the assurance which it gives that the anatomy of the original statue must have been even more subtly and minutely worked than the Lateran version indicates. The restoration and rehabilitation of ancient statues almost invariably leads to a weakening of the surface structure, to the detriment of the sharpness and clarity with which the individual forms were once worked. The Lateran satyr may have suffered less than most early-nineteenth century finds, but he has certainly not escaped unscathed, whereas the new torso has not been cleaned, restored, or otherwise improved in any way and hence can give important information on the probable original condition of the Lateran statue.

At Castel Gandolfo (PL. 6c) the muscular forms are indicated with more assurance and emphasis. The differentiation between the corresponding forms in extension and contraction is almost exaggeratedly deliberate. Thus, the serratus magnus on the right ripples in even undulations, while on the left the ridges are heavier and are surmounted by knob-like crests. The inguinal region is studied for all possible differentiations, some so delicate that they can be detected by touch rather than seen by eye. The curious stylisation of the outer side of the left thigh into three vertical ridges separated by hollows (well seen on PLATE 5) reappears at Castel Gandolfo. Experiment with an over-muscled model has convinced me that this articulation (which might at first be thought unnatural and impossible) is based on a related pose wherein more of the weight is thrown on the leg and the knee is more emphatically bent, and that it is in consequence only an exaggerated heightening of an actual effect rather than a misunderstanding of the anatomical situation. There is an equally marked exaggeration in the salience of the rectus femoris above the knee in this same leg. The treatment of the shoulder blades removes all doubts of the competence of the artist's control of the upper back. So powerfully is the thorax articulated, that a spectator looking only at a photograph might be reminded of the late archaic formulation. The profile view should undeceive him by showing him the great salience of the divisions of the rectus abdominis and the naturalistic treatment of its transverse grooves. In sum, the added amount of naturalistic observation in the Castel Gandolfo version helps to remove its original once and for all from the fifth century B. C.

I am confident that all serious students would join in expressing their appreciation to the Papal authorities if it could be found practicable to remove the Castel Gandolfo torso from its isolation and unmerited seclusion and to display it in immediate proximity with the famous Lateran statue, which it surpasses in wealth and accuracy of detail quite as much as it may fall short of it in general effectiveness.

Although the head has been lost, enough of the loose strands of the beard remain on chest and neck to show that in the Castel Gandolfo version there was much greater freedom and variety in the treatment of the hair. The Lateran copyist seems to have spared himself trouble by reserving an area of marble on which to cut, as best he could, the various flying locks and waving strands. The Castel Gandolfo copyist has taken much greater pains to follow the free movement of the bronze and to differentiate with great delicacy the varying saliences. There is no reason to accuse him of inventing these difficulties merely to make his own task harder. The pubes shows a similar heightening of the bronze effect; and in general the remarkable anatomical correspondence between the two versions, if we allow for surface scouring of the Lateran statue, proves that the copyists were not improvising their effects but reproducing what they found.

I prefer to leave the Marsyas head in the Barracco Collection entirely out of the argument; but if anyone can make profitable use of it, he should of course do so.

This seems to be the extent of the available evidence; but how is it to be evaluated and what reliance is to be placed on any final inferences or conclusions? Why need the Lateran satyr have anything to do with an Athenian group at all? Why cannot he be merely the reproduction of a lone satyr? To this rather devastatingly skeptical query, students have been fairly agreed in replying that the statue demands some external object for its focus of vision, that so erotic a subject as a satyr stalking a nymph would hardly have any

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was made by Comm. Nogara at a meeting of the Roman Pontifical Academy of Archaeology on July 6, 1933 (*cf. Rendiconti P. Acc. Rom. Arch.* ix 70) and again before the Rumanian Academy in Rome. The final publication, together with that of the other sculptures of Castel Gandolfo, will appear in the

*Memorie* of the Pontifical Academy through Comm. Nogara, to whom I am personally under the greatest obligation for his generous permission to anticipate with these casual remarks his definitive discussion.



parallel in Greek statuary before Hellenistic times, that Pliny's *admirantem tibias* affords us a clue to a reasonable solution, and Pausanias' description gives additional warrant for such a theme at Athens. Further, the pose agrees sufficiently closely with the numismatic evidence in which there is shown an Athenian group including such a satyr. There is thus a dense aura of plausibility (if the expression is not too fanciful) gathered around the Lateran statue. But it is almost impossible to advance thence to any binding and precise further conclusion. For there actually seem to be two carefully distinguished groups shown on the coins and, as we have seen, the Lateran Marsyas agrees rather better with the pair which includes a correctly characterised *fourth-century* Athena and is itself an admirable example of early-fourth century anatomy. Unfortunately there is no possible proof available that the group assigned to Myron by Pliny is the same as either of the groups illustrated on the coins or as the group described by Pausanias. And when the final crucial test of morphology is applied and the Lateran Marsyas completely fails to show any common characteristics of style with the Myronic diskobolos and on every available stylistic criterion of pose, bodily proportions, anatomical indication, facial expression, hair, and iconographical detail, categorically refuses to fit into any known mid-fifth century environment — then it is only the part of honesty to admit that, whatever else may be proved about him, the ascription to Myron of Eleutherai is mistaken.]

What then happens to the Frankfurt Athena<sup>1</sup>, whose combination into a group with the Lateran Marsyas has been hailed as one of the most outstanding achievements of recent archaeological scholarship? Strange as it may seem at first sight, nothing whatever happens to the Frankfurt Athena. There never was any way to prove that the two statues were necessarily and intrinsically connected, hence each of them primarily sets its own problem and relies on its own merits for acceptance. The Frankfurt Athena agrees admirably with the "earlier" Athena on the coins, in pose, costume, and general appearance. But when this Athena is combined with the Lateran Marsyas, the numismatic evidence ceases to be quite so favorable, since the satyr in the statuary group is not relatively tall enough nor can he be turned into the more erect profile-view of the coin and still fit satisfactorily in a closed composition on a common base. [There is no reason why the Athena cannot be retained after the satyr has been discarded: only — among the innumerable Athena types, how are we to be quite certain that we have found the single one which once was grouped with Marsyas and, having found her, even then, what warrant have we for insisting that we know her maker's name and that this name is Myron?]

I have not tried to make this almost hopelessly involved problem any more intricate or any less soluble than it really is, but only sought to show that the entire methodological procedure of establishing an irrefutable identity between an extant statue and an ancient literary reference must be viewed with the greatest skepticism. None the less, in the same breath I have tried to make precisely such an identification by claiming the Metropolitan statue of a nude but armed warrior for a direct copy of the Protesilaos of Deinomenes. The paradox and seeming inconsistency were deliberate, and chosen to illustrate what might be methodologically possible in this most difficult field of sculptural scholarship. Protesilaos was a theme of almost unique occurrence; the statue in our literary sources could be closely defined chronologically, the chosen statue could similarly be defined within narrow chronological limits through the morphology of style; and the two lines of enquiry converged exactly. The result was not categoric proof, but satisfactory probability. Athena-with-the-satyr was a theme which could not be thus uniquely circumscribed and restricted; the documentary evidence was complex, confused and ambiguous; finally, the chosen statue refused utterly to agree either with the literary tradition on Myron's style or with the established morphology for the phase of evolution of Greek sculpture contemporary with Myron's presumed activity. The result, by its complete lack of coherent probability, was equivalent to a categoric disproof of the entire proposition.

None the less, I can only expect that for many years to come, the Lateran satyr will continue to be accepted as the Marsyas of Myron.

In simple justice it should be remarked (as was noted by Svoronos more than thirty years ago in his discussion of the whole problem in connection with his publication of the Finlay Vase)<sup>2</sup> that Furtwängler with his instinctive sense of style was completely conscious of the impossibility of finding any common

<sup>1</sup> *Antike Denkmäler*, III 9.

<sup>2</sup> *Das Athener Nationalmuseum*, pp. 146-8.



ground for the Diskobolos and the Lateran Marsyas. I quote, for their historic interest, relevant phrases from the *Masterpieces*:<sup>1</sup>

"The contrast [*sc.* between the two works].... runs through the whole of each figure, and may be observed from head to foot ..... Even the pubes is treated characteristically. In the case of the Diskobolos the hair is cut straight off above and arranged in the same little curls as in the hair of the head; in the case of the Seilenos it takes the form of larger, coarser curls, and spreads in a triangular shape high up the belly ..... The small head [*sc.* of the Marsyas], the round outline of which passes into the neck without the break noted in other Myronian heads ..... The Marsyas undoubtedly bears the stamp of a later date ..... The nearest analogy to the head of the Marsyas and its flat short hair is presented in the Argive bronze, .... *Röm. Mitt.*, 1889, p. 170, which is undoubtedly later than Myron .... In the Diskobolos the expression of countenance is quite unaffected by the violent movement of the body, in the Marsyas expression and movement are in perfect harmony .... That ancient criticism about the want of ... expression in Myron applies, like that about his archaic treatment of the hair, ... only to the Diskobolos and kindred heads, and not to the Marsyas ..... The treatment of the planes [*sc.* in the Diskobolos], which remind one of work in relief, may be taken as a sign of confusion of ideas, due probably to the fact that just about this time figures in motion were being transferred from relief to the round. The Marsyas, on the other hand, is already conceived throughout for execution in the round".

But Furtwängler lacked the courage of his convictions and, instead of discarding the Marsyas, preferred to ascribe its peculiarities to the difference in the theme and to a great versatility in the artist. The fatal objection to such a position is that an artist's versatility, however great, must all lie within the same general morphological phase of technical evolution. No matter what the stylistic or thematic range, the chronological criteria must agree within the limits of a lifetime.

### The "Perseus" Head

Of another ascription to the hand of the same master, Myron, I have better hopes that the erroneous-ness and futility can be made convincingly apparent. I refer to the identification, first seriously championed by Furtwängler, of a head extant in two copies, one in the British Museum, the other formerly in the Antiquarium Comunale but now in the Museo Mussolini, as a reproduction of the head of the statue listed by Pliny as Perseus and described by Pausanias as standing on the Athenian Acropolis. In this instance the identity of the two ancient references can hardly be in doubt. In his alphabetic list of bronzes by Myron, Pliny includes *et Perseum*; on the Acropolis at Athens, Pausanias records "Myron's Perseus, who has accomplished his deed against Medusa". Thus, the identity is certain. The real difficulty lies in recognising this Perseus amid our modern sculptural repertory of surviving statuary.

It is seldom that two heads, which can be proved by their measurements to have been derived from the same ultimate original, produce at first glance so dissimilar an impression as the "Perseus" of the British Museum<sup>2</sup> and the "Perseus" of the Museo Mussolini in Rome<sup>3</sup>. On closer scrutiny the essential identity underlying their superficial differences is not difficult to seize; but the disquieting problem remains, which head (or worse, which elements from each head) should be taken to reflect more faithfully the original prototype? The British Museum head has been in London over sixty years; its counterpart in Rome has been known almost as long, but at first was heeded less. By a brief priority in the modern world, it was the London head which was first discussed, whereby it attained an accidental senior authority. As long ago as 1881 in the earliest days of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*<sup>4</sup>, A. S. Murray gave it a brief notice and an excellent illustration. The pathetic expression of the eyes led him to think of "the schools of Praxiteles and

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 181-2 of the English translation.

<sup>2</sup> SMITH, *Catalogue of Sculpture*, III no. 1743; Br.-Br. 602, 604 A, text figs. 3-5, 7.

<sup>3</sup> MUSTILLI, *Il Museo Mussolini* (1939), p. 122 and pl. LXXVIII; Br.-Br. 603, 604 B.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. II (1881) pp. 55f. and pl. IX.



Scopas". I can find nothing to deride in this verdict, which enjoyed but little vogue and is nowadays never quoted. By 1890 the head in Rome, then lodged in the Antiquarium Comunale, had usurped the leading place among a generation of scholars which more often found itself in Italy than in England. And no one, regarding the massively powerful and severe version in Rome, thought any longer of Praxiteles, nor seemingly of Scopas. The Perseus of Myron had been discovered.

Mere accidents of time and place should not influence our judgment of an ancient work of art; but even if one is resolved to ignore the priority in discovery of the London head and the accidentally more frequent consultation of the head in Rome, the problem of the relative worth and significance of the two heads still remains. In the search for their common original, what is to determine our choice between the two copies? Furtwängler, who solved so many problems of archaeological method, made little attempt to be helpful here. Mark the little he had to say on this score in his *Masterpieces*, although so much for the whole thesis of his book was tacitly involved:

"The original can be recovered from a study of the two copies of the head. The London replica is rather harder, though at the same time it is in some points more accurate; the Roman one is a hasty yet intelligent piece of work. The London copy gives the cap more accurately, but the hair, which is much injured, seems less good; the Roman head represents the forms of the face with more delicacy and roundness, and the lips are closed, while in the other they are slightly open; the last is likely to be more correct" (p. 198).

That is all, and the closer it is scrutinised the greater will its inadequacy appear.

One sometimes suspects that scholars tend to please themselves and their peculiar theories in arriving at their estimates between available copies, choosing for especial study the version which suits them best or appeals to them most. But strictly, what should be the correct procedure? If we agree not to appraise the fidelity of copies to their original by the index of their personal appeal to us, we shall be ruling out the intangible instinct of the connoisseur for finding the shortest and perhaps the best way to his goal. If we agree not to use so simple and objective a guide as carefulness of workmanship, we shall be overlooking the twin considerations that a careless workman *ex hypothesi* cannot be an accurate one and that a workman who takes pride in the finish of his work may also reasonably have taken pride in its accuracy. The criterion is faulty only because it makes no allowance for deliberate alterations to suit the fashions and preferences of the copyist's age and public. Praxiteles seems to have been very generally popular with the masses in almost every period: if the London head really has more of Praxiteles in it than has the head in Rome, might not this in itself be a counter-indication to its accuracy? Perhaps the best approach to our task would be to enquire, feature by feature, what details are impossible or improbable for a copyist to have improvised or invented, and then to claim these as sure survivals from the prototype. The superficial grace, the moody gaze of the London replica are commonplaces among the copyists; whereas the broad face, heavy structure, huge eyes, and ponderously unanimated yet latently powerful expression of the Rome version are so seldom found in our galleries that they cannot be held to reflect any casual taste of Roman times. In addition, the hair of the London version is either abominably perfunctory or else deliberately impressionistic so as to enhance the Praxitelean effect, whereas the hair of the Rome head is full of a crisp life and a vivid variety which could never have been attained by a copyist unless he found these details already to hand before him. On the other hand, there is in this same head in the Museo Mussolini an occasional crudeness in the finish of the flesh, a harshness bordering on awkwardness, an almost clumsy emphaticness as though from some desire not to be merely fluent and facile; and this must make us hesitate to base our entire judgment on this one version and altogether ignore, as we are at first tempted to do, the head in the British Museum. The best way out of this perplexing quandary must be a decision to rule out the London head at the start, in order to reach a conclusion solely on the basis of the head in Rome, and thereafter to return to the London head in order to discover how this conclusion may be reconciled with the specific differences which the latter head unquestionably possesses. I shall therefore confine my initial observations entirely to the "Perseus" of the Museo Mussolini (PLS. 7A, 8A).

As for the ancient literary sources, we should by this time have sufficiently learned to distrust their specious and misleading help. In the days when it was still imagined that our surviving statuary from antiquity must somehow correspond to the lists in our literary material, the existence of only two references to statues of Perseus, — one the work of Myron and well attested by both Pliny and Pausanias<sup>1</sup>, the other the

<sup>1</sup> PLINY, *N. H.* XXXIV 57; PAUS., I 23, 7.



work of Myron's contemporary, Pythagoras, but not attested by very sure authority<sup>1</sup>, — was bound to influence the attribution of the two heads and make inevitable their ascription to one or other of these famous sculptors. That the head had been identified as Perseus mainly because of a missing crest to the winged cap, erroneously inferred from a supposed cutting in the crown and successfully banished by Ludwig Curtius<sup>2</sup>, who also showed that the Ἄϊδος κρυνὴ, traditional for Perseus, must be what its name implied and not a scaled or feathered cap, — all this was made apparent, and with it the evident truth that the head might equally represent Hermes, without ever seriously dispelling the attraction of preferring it to be Perseus. That the head had no discoverable connection with Myron and was too advanced for Pythagoras, was slowly understood and in many quarters freely admitted, without producing any chronological displacement very far from these two masters of the second quarter of the fifth century B. C. So much damage can be wrought by preoccupations based on literary connections! In view of our experience with the Lateran Marsyas, would it not be wiser to admit quite openly the fallibility of the great Furtwängler and *a fortiori* the rest of his generation, to omit every mention of Pythagoras and Myron, to drop the name of Perseus, and to make a wholly fresh start with a careful inspection of the marble head bearing the Inventory number 1866 of the Museo Mussolini?

Even the most inattentive observer could not fail to be impressed by the great size of the features, the enormous eyes with their emphatic upper lids, the generous mouth with its heavy lips pressed gently shut. Hardly less extraordinary is the shape of the face, whose greatest width is not at the level of the eyes but at the cheek-bones, and whose tapering curve is blocked by the great breadth of jaw. The salience of the cheek-bone and the powerfully accentuated outline of the jaw are apparent in the profile view also; and in this it may be seen that the bar of the forehead is clearly developed and its protruding outline carried down to the bridge of the nose. What is not apparent in photographs, however, is the correct differentiation which is made in this corrugator muscle by dividing it into two slanting protrusions to form a "V" with the apex toward the root of the nose and a slight hollow above. This observation alone would force us to bring the date down to a period long subsequent to Myron and Pythagoras. The bulging profile of the forehead involves a date as late as the Parthenon, while the separation into the two slanting superciliar muscles brings the period still farther down to the post-Polykleitan School.

Although the two aspects of the face, from full-front and in side-view, have been separately studied and possess as it were an existence independent of one another, as in all early Greek heads, it should be observed that the intersection of the frontal with the lateral aspect is not merely a chamfered angle, as it still is in early-fifth century work. On the contrary, the salience of the cheek-bone and the point of the jaw are sufficient to destroy the uniformity of contour. If a Polykleitan (or earlier) head be revolved before a cinema camera in action and from the resultant series of images on the film the outline of the face from temple to chin be drawn off, as the head moves from frontal into profile view the identical curvature will repeat itself without notable deformation: it will, in fact, exhibit the *constant contour* of fifth century art. Were the same test applied to our head, the result would be totally different. From photograph to photograph the curve would change its character, precisely because of this salience of the cheek-bone and jaw. The *shifting contour* of such a head marks the advance in realism and offers an objective and easily applied proof that we are dealing with a head at least as recent as the last quarter of the fifth century.

The eyeballs possess an unusual degree of convexity which is not due to the sphericity of the natural orb, but results from the peculiar fact that the entire eye, including the lids and brows, is so long that it projects beyond the limits of the frontal plane of the face and must therefore extend around into the lateral plane of the cheeks. The sharp line at which the frontal suddenly gives place to the lateral plane may be traced vertically down through eyebrow, eyelid, and eyeball. In the full-front photograph (PL. 7 A) the position of this line is indicated by an apparent sudden change in the curvature of the lower lid, an illusion which is due to this prolongation out of the frontal into the lateral plane of the face. It does not actually alter its curvature at this point, but there is a change of orientation in the surface on which it has to be carved. The orbicular plane (or under-surface of the eyebrow) is involved in a similar complication of move-

<sup>1</sup> DIO CHRYS., XXXVII 10 p. 106.

<sup>2</sup> In his important contribution to the text of the Brunn-Bruckmann series, pls. 602-4, cf. esp. p. 5.



ment. Beginning merely as a prolongation of the cutting at the side of the nose, as it passes over the eyelid it gradually flattens its pitch until, beyond the outer edge of the eye, it is no longer at right angles to the cheek, but running almost parallel with it. I believe it to be correct to argue that where this double curvature appears both in the lower lid and in the orbicularis, the phenomenon is symptomatic of the late-fifth and early-fourth centuries B. C. Before that time, the orbicular plane fails to revolve fully into the plane of the cheek; after that time, the eyes become smaller and hence do not need to overstep the frontal boundaries of the face.

The upper eyelids are deliberately protruded, as though the gaze had a downward cast. The expression of the right eye is unfortunate owing to injury to the lid. The not-fully-open eye with its concentration of gaze is a familiar trait of the fourth century and uncommon in the fifth; but it is after all not very pronounced in this head. More significant is the softness of the lower lids, which show no edge or line where they blend into the cheeks. This feature is exaggerated in the London head, where it might be due to contamination with the Praxiteleanising manner of the copyist; but in so harshly cut a marble as the head in Rome it must be given full weight.

In the mouth, the upper lip in its middle portion is completely salient beyond the lower, protruding beyond it and yet pressing upon it, so that the mouth is not merely closed but actually compressed. These details are shown with a sensitive and almost sensuous softness comparable to that displayed in the lower eyelids. They do not appear in the London version; but it would not be methodologically sound to assume that therefore the original of these two heads may have shown a mouth midway between the two.

There is considerable subtlety of movement in the treatment of the flesh and yet at the same time a noticeable harshness and angularity. This condition may be best explained by supposing that the copyist had trouble in reproducing the simple and large scale of this movement and has occasionally hewn the planes too crudely. The London head is much more facile in this respect and consequently not so reliable. In the hair, where minute inaccuracies or infelicities would impose no penalty, the maker of the head in Rome has been extremely successful in reproducing a play of light and shadow over forehead and ears through plastic forms which are very far removed from the schematic incisions of the Diskobolos or any other devices known to the early-fifth century masters. Furtwängler, in his *Masterpieces*, compared the hair of the Cassel Apollo without noting that in the Apollo the hair-scrolls always lie in the same curvature with the part of the skull which they cover, while in our head they are deliberately and precisely cut so as not to do this. A really adequate study of these hair forms would date the head — but not to the fifth century. The proper environment is the Herakles head from Genzano<sup>1</sup> or the Aberdeen head<sup>2</sup>, both in the British Museum and both of slightly later style than our head, but offering a far better basis of comparison than anything in Myron's age. Even the finest Polykleitan heads when matched with our head in Rome seem cold and restrained in the faces, without light or life in the hair.

The chin is heavy and isolated from both the mouth and the cheeks. The great breadth of the latent bony structure of the lower maxillary, which imparts such rectangularity to the outline of the face, is compensated by the lateral projection of dense curling hair that escapes from beneath the edge of the winged cap between temple and ear and thus helps to broaden the head at the top of the face without destroying its massive framework.

The neck is extremely thick and powerful, being as broad as the head which it carries. Only the emphatic under-contour of the jaw prevents a destructive invasion of the cheeks by its massive form, just as it is only the protruding hair escaping beneath the cap in back which prevents a similar destructive invasion of the head at the occiput. From the London version, which preserves the immediate attachment to the body, we learn that the deltomastoid was strongly salient on the right and that there was a deep hollow on this side behind the clavicle, — a combination indicating that the head was both bent and turned and that the right arm was probably raised. If we try to visualise such a pose, we shall find it much easier to quote parallels from the time of Polykleitos on. We might further conclude that such athletic forms and posture befit the heroically strenuous Perseus better than the quiet Hermes; but this final inference has neither archaeological support nor inherent probability.

<sup>1</sup> A. H. SMITH, *Marbles and Bronzes: Fifty Plates*, pl. 21.

<sup>2</sup> FURTWÄNGLER, *Masterpieces*, pl. XVIII.



To review these accumulated observations on the head in the Museo Mussolini, the huge eyes, heavy features, massive proportions, great breadth of the face at the level of the mouth, continuing even to a level midway between mouth and chin, are all characteristic of Attic taste in the latter half of the fifth century. We find this taste embodied first perhaps in the Prokne of the Acropolis Museum (I say "perhaps", because the exact date of the Prokne is uncertain); it is clearly expressed in the great hieratic relief from Eleusis (which, because of the drapery forms, must be at least as late as the 30's); it will be found in the Eurydike of the Orpheus relief in Naples (whose original, again because of the drapery, cannot be earlier than the late 20's); and it still asserts itself powerfully in the caryatid Maidens of the Erechtheum (which seem to have been carved shortly after 420 B. C.). Thereafter it gradually loses hold; by the fourth century it is in decline; Kephisodotos in his Eirene is possibly its last and seemingly not too enthusiastic advocate. With the great fourth-century masters it is swept from sight and never again reappears, except as an occasional archaizing mannerism in Greco-Roman times.

If we search for more specific parallels, it may be noted that on the Parthenon frieze the predominant head type is large, full-cheeked, with great eyes and very much the strongly curved chin and accentuated jaw of our head; but any closer comparison is impractical because of the discrepancy in scale and the inevitable differences between low relief and statuary. The male heads of the Parthenon pedimental figures no longer survive except in the badly worn Dionysos of the east pediment. But here there is a decided similarity in the long low line of the skull in profile and the strong broad neck running straight to the occiput and set off from the deep flat cheeks by a powerfully emphasised jaw. The Erechtheum Maidens show the same outline of the face full-front, the same abnormal lateral prolongation of the eyes, the same suggestion of fleshiness on a powerful underlying framework of bone; but their expression is less alive, less subtly animated — possibly because of their architectonic function as supports in a building. However, all the Attic heads from the time of the Parthenon through the period of the Nike Parapet, as far as we can examine them, seem wilfully to avoid any pronounced facial expression, as though it were unsuited to the abstract and impersonal appeal of the sculptural medium. The latent personality from within the stone, which distinguishes our head, forces us unescapably toward the new ideals, the more human objectives, of the fourth century masters.

This conclusion may be reached by another method. We may construct as a framework for fifth century sculpture a chronological series of original heads (not all Attic) at roughly twenty-year intervals. The Apollo of the west pediment of the Zeus Temple at Olympia may represent the 60's. The Niobid of the Terme Museum (whose drapery I have already remarked as allying her with the more developed metopes and the earliest part of the frieze of the Parthenon)<sup>1</sup> may represent the 40's. The heads from the Bassai frieze (which, though small, are often very well preserved) will have to serve to represent the late 20's. Our head in Rome categorically refuses to fit with any of this series, not merely because it is different, but because it belongs to a more advanced state in the morphological process.

So much for the negative, for the thesis that the "Perseus" head not only is no contemporary of Myron, but cannot be inserted into any fifth century sequence which we may be able to construct. But there is a consequent positive obligation to find a head, a sculptural manner, if possible a sculptor, with which the "Perseus" can be reconciled or, better still, intimately related. The name of the sculptor escapes me; but the head and the sculptural manner exist. I refer to the lovely Hygieia from the Palatine (PLS. 7 B, 8 B), until recently shown in the Terme Museum and now awaiting the installation of the new museum promised for the hilltop on which it was discovered.

Like the "Perseus" itself, this head has been admirably studied and described by Ludwig Curtius<sup>2</sup>, whose sensitive taste did not fail to detect a likeness with the "Perseus" in the "*Wirkungsverhältnis von Mund und Augen*"<sup>3</sup>. But the authority of Furtwängler's Myron was still very strong in 1904 and the "Perseus" seemed inextricably lodged on the wrong side of 450 B. C., so that Curtius was forced to dismiss the resemblance as a chance phenomenon without further significance.

<sup>1</sup> The west frieze should be earlier than the remainder because its careful observance of the joints between slabs indicates that it was carved in the atelier, whereas the complete disregard of the joints on the other three sides shows that there the figures were carved in place on the building. The west

frieze was accordingly carved *before* the builders had reached the frieze level, the rest *after*.

<sup>2</sup> *Jhb.* XIX (1904), 55-85 with an excellent illustration pl. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, 59.



The Palatine head belongs with a considerable number of copies centering around the Hygieia from Ostia, of the Hope Collection in Deepdene. Most of the versions tend to Praxiteleanise the contours, the surfaces, and the general facial expression; but the Palatine head and a remarkably Greek version identified by Ashmole among the material of the Acropolis Museum at Athens<sup>1</sup> take us back into a different environment. This Athens version stands alone in showing a great width to the face at the level of the upper part of the chin. For all other details we may base our study on the better preserved version from the Palatine<sup>2</sup>. Here the projecting upper eyelids with their effect of a downward direction to the gaze, and the gently compressed, rather than merely closed, lips of the "Perseus" recur with startling fidelity. There is the same sudden curvature of the entire eye around into the lateral plane of the cheek (discernible on a photograph as an apparent break in the curve of the lower lid), the same revolution of the orbicular into the plane of the cheek below the temple, the same shape to the forehead (though with a gentler indication of the bar), the same use of a smooth cap-like cover to hold the hair close to the forehead and allow it to assert itself more plastically at the side of the head between the eyes and ears (though with a different formula for long hair instead of short curling locks), and finally, though in feminine form, the same strong and broad neck, very nearly as wide as the head which it carries. All these points of agreement are so far-reaching and so rarely encountered that (in my estimation) they entirely outweigh such differences as the much shorter mouth, the smaller chin with the consequent more running oval contour of the face, and the less emphatic forehead bar, which may all be due to the feminine as opposed to the masculine theme. The Palatine head has a peculiar exaggeration of the slanting muscle on either side of the wing of the nose; and precisely this feature recurs in the London version of the "Perseus", though there is no trace of it on the counterpart in the Museo Mussolini. On the other hand, the still more curious trait of opening the right eye wider than the left is shared in common by the Palatine head and the "Perseus" in Rome. I submit, therefore, that the "Perseus" and the Hygieia agree so fundamentally and are so markedly on the same stylistic level that to date one is to approach very closely to dating the other.

Nor does this reasoning fall under the ban of explaining *ignotum per ignotius*; we do not have to reconcile ourselves to making the two heads mutually date each other without further gain in accurate chronology. Thanks to the possibility of identifying through the Hope Hygieia the body type to which the Palatine head belongs, we can take refuge in the more certainly established chronology of drapery forms to reject any date earlier than the opening years of the fourth century<sup>3</sup>. It may be that the Hygieia is the later of the two; but no great gap of years can be set between them. The "Perseus" is not an ancestor, but at most an elder brother of the Hygieia.

The only serious objection to this rather drastic change in chronology for the "Perseus" is the certainty that we are dealing with a much more simply canonic or measured head than the Hygieia. In the "Perseus" the distance between the eyes is equivalent to the length of the eye itself, which again is exactly equal to the greatest breadth of the nose at the nostrils; the horizontal length of the mouth is equivalent to the vertical length of the nose from the median eye-line to the tip, and this in turn equals the vertical measurement from the top of the nose at this median eye-line to the peak of the forehead under the hair. In the Palatine Hygieia, the distance between the tear-ducts gives the length of the eye from tear-duct to outer crossing of the lids; the length of the mouth is identical with the greatest width of the nose at the nostrils; the vertical distance from the base of the chin to the line of the mouth is the same as the vertical distance from the base of the nose at the nostrils to the median eye-line, while the distance from this eye-line to the peak of the forehead under the hair is the same as the distance from the base of the chin to the base of the nose. It is hardly likely that these correspondences are all mere coincidences; so that we may conclude that both the heads are canonic or laid out by modular measurement, but that the feminine canon of the Hygieia is less obvious than the male canon of the "Perseus".

<sup>1</sup> *Papers of the British School at Rome*, x (1927), 1-11; pls. I-V.

<sup>2</sup> As this was inaccessible at the time of these observations, the δεύτερος πλοῦς of a plaster cast in the possession of the American Academy was the only available source of information.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ashmole's carefully reasoned attribution of the Hygieia to the first quarter of the fourth century n. c. in his previously mentioned article in the *P. B. S. R.*, x 8 f.



The employment of a canon, at all, would tend to throw back the date into the fifth century to the stage when we are pretty thoroughly convinced that such methods of *symmetria* were practised, — even though the only really ambitious attempt to recover these canons<sup>1</sup> did more than anything to discredit the whole subject as a profitable field of archaeological enquiry. It is not generally supposed that the great fourth century masters with their heightened natural fidelity forced their creations into an arithmetical frame: but it would be a reasonable speculation that the pupils of Polykleitos could hardly have rejected one of their master's fundamental precepts. Without anything much more substantial than the probabilities of the case for a guide, it might therefore be suggested that the canonic method probably survived the fifth century, but became too complicated to be longer practicable during the course of the fourth. If the new date of the "Perseus" proves acceptable, however, we shall have acquired more specific evidence that canonic features were actually still in vogue among the Attic sculptors of the opening decade of the fourth century — to which, after all this discussion, it is hardly too presumptuous to assign the original of our head.

For lack of a better name, and in despite of an initial resolve, it has been freely referred-to in this discussion as Perseus; but it need scarcely be remarked that the extremely common theme of Hermes, compared with the apparent rarity of Perseus as a sculptural theme, must make it vastly more reasonable and hence abundantly more probable to substitute the god for the mortal hero in seeking a definitive name for our head. To be sure, had Furtwängler's date of 460 B. C. proved correct, the identification as Hermes would hardly have been possible. The relief from Thasos in the Louvre<sup>2</sup> shows us the type to be expected for the god in the first half of the fifth century: he is middle-aged, long-haired, bearded, and wears a conical cap or *pilos*. A white-ground lekythos<sup>3</sup> in Munich from shortly after the middle of the century shows a younger but still bearded Hermes, who now wears a winged cap instead of a *pilos*. A few years later (perhaps about 435 B. C.) the god is represented in early manhood, beardless, though still with long hair, on the familiar white-ground krater<sup>4</sup> in the Vatican. Large upturned wings adorn laterally a headdress which, because of its up-rolled rim and ribbons and pliable outline, cannot be a metal helmet, but must be such a cap as the "Perseus" head once displayed. An equally cogent parallel for the cap and youthful face will be found on a pelike in the Hermitage<sup>5</sup> from the same period. Presumably, several decades more must have passed before the long hair too was cropped and the almost boyish type which is found in the Hermes of Praxiteles at Olympia became the established guise of this god who, from an almost elderly shepherd type, finally achieved an unchanging youth. If our head belongs at the end of the fifth or in the opening decade of the fourth century, it has every claim to be called a Hermes. To insist on calling it Perseus is to grant too much to the claims of an early prejudice. To connect it with Myron is impossible.

But following on the severance of the Perseus head from the already improbably composite sculptural personality to whom Myron's name has been so wilfully attached, one brief stroke should suffice to cut away the Medusa Rondanini, rather rashly claimed as a suitable Gorgon-head for our Perseus. In supporting this attribution a couple of decades ago<sup>6</sup> E. A. Gardner urged that it was "a valuable addition to the growing list of Myron's works, and once more testifies to the versatility .... of a master who is in many ways the most original of all ancient sculptors". No one who has any faith in the evolutionary continuity of Greek art can read these words without a shiver of foreboding. For, once the Medusa Rondanini<sup>7</sup>, with its elaborately plastic and variegated hair, its superciliary arc carried far beyond the eyes and revolved into the plane of the jaw, its parabolic outline to cheeks and chin, its dramatically expressive modeling, becomes part of the Myronic style, all contact with the Diskobolos is lost forever. Everything becomes possible and nothing becomes sure. The Myron Saga — the legend of the boundlessly gifted artist who could work in a manner so unlike his own that no one could find any point of resemblance — has done great harm to the serious study of fifth-century sculpture. Our plea to the new generation of archaeological students is that they try how they may fare in future without it. With the Diskobolos for touchstone, they will pay renewed attention to

<sup>1</sup> KALEMANN, *Die Proportionen des Gesichts in der griechischen Kunst*, 53. Berlin Winkelmannsprogramm (1893).

<sup>2</sup> CHARBONNEAUX, pl. 77; *Encycl. Photogr. de l'Art*, III 149.

<sup>3</sup> RIEZLER, *Weissgründige attische Lekythen*, pl. 26 and fig. 54.

<sup>4</sup> F-R., pl. 169 and fig. 144 in text.

<sup>5</sup> F-R., text, fig. 146.

<sup>6</sup> *JHS.*, XLIII (1923) 142.

<sup>7</sup> Br.-Br. 239; FURTWÄNGLER, *Masterpieces*, pp. 156-61, fig. 63 (with attribution to Kresilas).



the metopes of the Parthenon. Perhaps they will be able to rescue and preserve for Myron a few of Furtwängler's attributions of severer style than the "Perseus" or the Cassel Apollo. It would above all be well if they did not have to discard Wolters' discovery of the Diskobolos features latent in the Riccardi Head. For with these works they would have abandoned the quicksand of literary tradition and reached the firmer ground of sculptural form. Perhaps, if they possessed both conviction and courage they might in this connection attempt even the perilous problem of

### The Youth from Subiaco

(PLATES 9-11).

Because the statue was found<sup>1</sup> on the site of the "Villa Neroniana Sublaquensis" in the valley of the Anio, some 25 miles above Tivoli, it is hardly possible that it is of later date than Nero. On the other hand, because the profile of the modeled base, which forms a single block with the statue, is a degenerate version of the Attic Ionic pilaster base, such as cannot be reconciled with the classical Greek or Hellenistic tradition, the manufacture is most probably of no earlier date than Nero. That we are dealing with a copy from bronze seems clear from the unpleasantly disturbing tree-trunk and the failure of the total silhouette to keep manageably within the boundaries of a single block of stone. All this is *communis opinio*<sup>2</sup> and scarcely susceptible to serious challenge. But when we seek to pass beyond these preliminaries and to reach some decision on the original from which our copy was taken, all agreement ceases. In view of the unnatural pose, in which the left knee neither touches the ground nor gives support to the body, the interpretation of the theme has proven especially difficult and uncertain; and, as I have no new evidence or theory to propose, such it must here remain. As for the stylistic study, in so far as there has been any convergence toward a verdict, a date near the turn from fourth-century classic into early Hellenistic appears to have won most general favor. And here I can only protest that such a decision must be utterly wide of the mark.

The pose is a compromise or contamination between the Stumbling Niobid (PL. 12) of the Terme (which adequately gives us every detail as far up as the waist) and the Myronian Diskobolos (from which may be drawn the attachment of the left arm near the wrist to the right knee, the raised right arm, and the turn of the upper part of the torso into the plane of the lower limbs, except that in the Subiaco Youth this process is not carried out completely). As in the Diskobolos, the profile view (PL. 9) is full of clear and vivid outlines, outspread as in a relief, whereas the view from in front (PL. 11) or behind narrows the composition almost into unintelligibility. As in the Stumbling Niobid, the archaic schema of the *Knielauf*, which originated out of the psychologic helplessness of the instinctive visual image of a runner, is now taken at its literal face value: the youth is not running, but he is in the old runner's pose. Since the drapery of the Niobid may be interpolated somewhere between the most advanced of the Parthenon metopes and the earliest portion of the Parthenon frieze, her date should not be far from the early 40's of the fifth century B. C. Myron's Diskobolos has been most plausibly assigned to the 50's of the same century. Somewhere in the neighborhood of the mid-fifth century, therefore, our first criterion of pose would place the Subiaco Youth. Yet anatomically he does not in the least resemble the Diskobolos!

The two statues share, however, a very significant anatomical feature. It has been remarked earlier in this study that the axial revolution of the Diskobolos between hips and shoulder is effected brokenly in three distinct displacements of the torso. In the Subiaco Youth the same procedure is even more drastically employed. The lower abdomen, from the pubic symphysis to the iliac crest, orients correctly with the legs; but the umbilical region is abruptly twisted, or rather, a torso of different orientation is directly superposed at

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the text to *Antike Denkmäler* I pl. 56.

<sup>2</sup> There is an admirable brief survey of current earlier

views together with a cursory bibliography up to about 1910 in HELBIG-AMELUNG'S *Führer* II pp. 146-9.



this level. If one follows the *linea alba* down from the sternum to the navel, one will find a first displacement at about the level of the lowest ribs: but if one thence tries to trace its further probable course downward, one will be amazed at the extent of the second displacement in the abdomen. It is not a question of a careless misindication of the navel, such as (conceivably, but certainly very improbably) a copyist might have ignorantly committed; for, as a matter of anatomic fact, with so violent a torsion of the upper body, the navel might well be displaced to the position it occupies in the statue. It is the complete lack of transition shown *e. g.* in the left division of the *rectus abdominis* muscle which destroys the plausibility of the rendering. I do not intend to deny the very great power of naturalistic observation which the original sculptor indubitably possessed. Thus the little horizontal V-fold at the top of the right thigh is correctly taken from nature, the violent displacement of the navel is correct, the attachment of the raised right arm is well studied, and a better anatomist than I could surely make further observations to prove that a posed model has been very closely observed. But the record is purely a superficial one of visible contours, without any attempt to seize the subcutaneous connections or to understand the actual functioning of the muscles. Thus in the axial twist of the lower torso, it is almost as though there were two distinct human bodies fitted together with an angular revolution at their junction. Since there is no question of a *pastiche*, a borrowing from two different prototypes such as we shall discover in the Esquiline Venus, this state of affairs can only be due to a survival of the archaic technique of cutting statues to their drawn contours instead of as plastic *continua*. We believed that we had discovered a precisely similar condition in the Diskobolos. In the Stumbling Niobid this archaism has been overcome, leaving only a slight angularity or stiffness in the torsion, which still seeks to bring the shoulders around into the plane of the lower limbs. On this criterion — and it is a fundamental one for morphological evolution — the chronological sequence should run: Subiaco Youth, Diskobolos, Niobid; and the presumptive date for the statue which we are studying should be the 60's or 70's of the fifth century B. C.

But the superficial anatomy? The marvellously soft flowing forms, so reminiscent of the Madrid Hypnos or of those numerous instances of the post-Praxitelean virtuosity in imparting to marble the living surface-forms of tender human flesh? The only honest reply to such a query is a complete denial of the suggested comparison. The superficial anatomy is *not* reminiscent of the Madrid Hypnos, though the confusion is admittedly easy to make and hard to remove. None the less, the whole problem of the Subiaco Youth hinges upon it.

Rightly or wrongly (but more probably rightly), it has become an accepted dogma that it was Praxiteles who led a powerful reaction against the Peloponnesian school of athletic anatomy, and substituted flowing forms of great surface-delicacy for the hard precision practised by the pupils of Polykleitos. But the Praxitelean loveliness was not attained by mere elimination or denial of anatomic naturalism, so much as by a substitution of gentle undulation in the modeling for the exact and almost linear indication of the boundaries of the various muscular protrusions. Naturalistically, this was not retrogression, but advance, and merely marked one more step in the long progression from the linear approach of sculptural infancy to the plastic veridicity of its final maturity. The human body is not articulated superficially in terms of grooves and outlines, but in terms of a plastic rise and fall, from which results the modeling play of intermingling light and shadow. By the time of Praxiteles' successors, the trend toward naturalism (which underlies the whole development of Greek art) had reached this latter stage. Its significant criterion is the presence of the traditional Polykleitan or Pheidian musculature in non-linear form. If a Praxitelean torso is illuminated by a strong side-light, hills and valleys will suddenly emerge, revealing the protrusions and recessions of the accepted classical muscular anatomy. If this experiment is performed on the Subiaco Youth, nothing more elaborate, nothing new, nothing different will come to light.

The Apollo Sauroktonos may therefore seem to agree with the Subiaco Youth under certain illuminations; but a blind man with sensitive fingertips would never make the mistake of identifying their style.

Charbonneaux has given us a series of very beautiful and sympathetic photographic reproductions of the sculptural classic nude displayed in the Louvre<sup>1</sup>, in which may be seen how much of real anatomical ob-

<sup>1</sup> In *La Sculpture Grecque au Musée du Louvre*; consult particularly pls. XXX-XXXIV.



ervation resides in the Paris version of the Sauroktonos, by noting specifically the indication of the clavicle, the subtlety of the pectoral meeting the deltoid, and the distinctions between left and right in the torso, notably in the region of the epigastric arch and the great oblique muscle. I can only beg the serious student to see how much of all this he can discover in the Subiaco Youth, in whom specifically is lacking any intelligible indication of the following muscles, all of them indispensable elements of the post-Polykleitan anatomic repertory:

- in the raised right upper arm, any but the most perfunctory indication of biceps or triceps;
- in the torso, the serratus magnus and its transitions into the latissimus dorsi;
- the traditional emphasis of the great oblique;
- in the upper legs, "Scarpa's Triangle" (the depression over the iliacus, psoas, and pectineus), the rectus femoris, a proper differentiation between the sartorius and the vastus internus; any of the minor muscles on the inside face of the limbs;
- at the knee, the cartilaginous formations surrounding the patella;
- in the lower legs, any muscles whatever, except the inadequately rendered (because unflexed) gastrocnemius; specifically, soleus, peroneus, and all the extensor and flexor muscles are missing;
- in the feet, any muscular indications.

Further, as a most significant indication of latent archaism, the limbs are put together (or as it were, assembled) *seriatim* at the joints and are mutually unconnected. In the bent left foot, all the flexion is in the toes, *i. e.* the metatarsus and ankle are completely unaffected.

Perhaps it may not seem to everyone a very conclusive argument to measure the length of the feet in relation to the rest of the body;<sup>1</sup> but where except in archaic and transitional sculpture has anyone ever seen so huge a foot?

But to all this it will be replied, perhaps with some heat, that early anatomy, whether archaic or transitional, is extremely emphatic and, whatever else it may be, predominantly linear. Where on the Subiaco Youth are the shadowy grooves of the Diskobolos, the hard linear outlines of the Naples Tyrannicides, the red-figure vase anatomy of the metopes of the Treasury of the Athenians in Delphi? Where indeed? But where also are any of these on the various boys in the pediments of the Zeus Temple at Olympia<sup>2</sup>, or on the "Kritios Boy" (who for this very reason should perhaps not be too indissolubly attached to the Kritios of the Tyrannicides) of the Athenian Acropolis<sup>3</sup>, or on the Apollo Piombino of the Louvre?<sup>4</sup> Perhaps the greatest specific deterrent to the suggestion of an early date for the Subiaco Youth has been the strikingly plastic treatment, the modeled rise and fall of surface, which breaks the normally flat sloping plane of the pectoral into a mammillary protrusion and surrounds the navel with an adipose deposit. These may be thought to be mannerisms impossible for the early-fifth century; but they are both to be found on the Apollo Piombino bronze.

We should not ascribe the unlinear anatomy entirely to the youth of the intended subject, although this factor must be allowed its proper importance. There are two other possible explanations. The first, suggested by the Apollo Piombino, is the assumption of an unathletic school of sculpture, possibly Ionian in its orientation, and prone in its bronzes to emphasize rounded contours, without further anatomical curiosity, and thus differing markedly from the sculptors of Mainland Greece with its great athletic games. The second possibility, suggested by the Kritios Boy and some of the Olympia statues, is the reaction against archaism, which could have led to the suppression of all hard lines in the anatomical rendering in precisely the same way as it eliminated schematic linear folds from the drapery<sup>5</sup>. This process should have taken place in the 70's of the fifth century, only to be swept away by the increasing interest in anatomic realism for which Pliny holds Myron responsible — *primus hic multiplicasse veritatem videtur*.

Finally, proper allowance must be made for the exquisite discoloration of the marble and the glamor of its lucid surface, neither of which should too greatly influence our conception of the original bronze. If

<sup>1</sup> The right foot measures m. 0.285 in length, while the scale of the body denotes a figure standing less than m. 1.60 high.

<sup>2</sup> BUSCHOR-HAMANN, *Die Skulpturen des Zeustempels zu Olympia*, pls. VII-IX; XXV-XXVI; XLVII-XLVIII.

<sup>3</sup> SCHRADER, *Die archaischen Marmorbildwerke der Akropolis* (1939), no. 299, pp. 191-5, figs. 182-6, pls. 120-3.

<sup>4</sup> CHARBONNEAUX, pls. V-VI; *Encycl. Photogr. de l'Art*, III, 80-81.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the metopes of the Zeus Temple at Olympia.



the reproduction in Brunn-Bruckmann's series (no. 249) be closely examined, it would seem that in the decade after the statue's discovery it still bore numerous traces of scratches, pock-marks, and abrasions which are not so pronouncedly apparent in more recent photographs; but this impression is largely illusory, and there is very little trace (except on the incrustated lower left leg) that any of the polish is due to misplaced modern energy. It should therefore be ancient. But whether the exquisite gloss is to some degree modern or wholly Neronian, care must be taken not to transfer its lightly destructive influence on the surface forms too literally to the bronze prototype, nor draw from it any chronological inferences based on a preconception of Praxitelean methods of marble-finish.

A precursor of Myron's diskobolos, only a few decades older (however superficially different in its anatomical indications), and probably not an Attic work: I can reach no other conclusion for the Youth from Subiaco.

Reference has several times been made to the

### Stumbling Niobid

(PLATE 12)

of the National Museum of the Terme, and a date in the 40's of the fifth century has been suggested on the evidence of the drapery. In a related context, the frieze of the Apollo Temple at Bassai, a familiar (though not yet sufficiently studied or adequately published) treasure of the British Museum, was assigned to the late 20's of the century, so that at least two decades, or more probably a quarter of a century, should separate these two works. This lack of contemporaneity would be of no more than the most casual interest, were it not that the Niobid has been recently identified by Dinsmoor<sup>1</sup> as part of the pedimental statuary of the same temple at Bassai in which the frieze was found. Were the situation reversed and the frieze dated twenty years ahead of the statue, the apparent chronological difficulty could be resolved on the simple assumption that the pediments were filled some time after the temple had otherwise been completed; but the opposite relationship is much more awkward, since a blank strip of stone waiting at least twenty years to be carved, on the interior order of the cella, would be hardly thinkable in any event, and the certainty derived from the cutting-down and mutilation of the slabs that they were not cut in place and that hence the interior could not have been finished or roofed over until the frieze slabs had been carved, makes this chronological sequence all but impossible. It may consequently be expected that the reliability of the suggested chronology will be attacked and, if possible, invalidated. I am convinced that the Niobid will resist every such onset.

The present study intends to confine itself as strictly as possible to an autopsy of style and to the statuary of the Roman museums. But a brief digression to the Bassai frieze in the British Museum seems unavoidable, and in this connection a brief explanation of a more personal nature may be excused. Some ten years ago, I seriously entertained a project of publishing a monograph on the Bassai frieze and to this end spent considerable time in the little room beyond the Parthenon sculptures (as these were then displayed). I possessed, in addition, a set of Ashmole's excellent detail photographs of all the heads in the frieze, and these I intended to publish with my monograph, thanks to the generosity of that excellent recorder of sculptural detail. The project came to nothing, because of my own failure to solve the maddening puzzle of the proper sequence of the frieze-slabs and my unwillingness to reconcile myself to the solution of that puzzle finally achieved by Dinsmoor (who had throughout given me every benefit of his remarkable knowledge of the temple). I returned all my material to its rightful owners and was left with nothing more substantial

<sup>1</sup> *AJA*. XLIII (1939) 27-47.



than a conviction that the frieze had been carved by four "masters" or "hands", whom I had nicknamed the Metope Master (from his clumsy insistence on composing in terms of little metope groups of two figures), the Pictorial Master (from his trait of composing more in painter's than in sculptor's terms), the Flamboyant Master (from his swirling draperies), and the Exquisite Master (who could carve stone with the precision of a coin-engraver), and the persuasion (based on parallels such as the Nike Parapet, the Siris bronzes, and a relief in the Musée Scheurleer) that it would be very difficult to set the date very far, either way, from the year 420 B. C.<sup>1</sup> The much more fragmentary metopes of the exterior order seemed to show the stamp of the same calligraphic style, centering on the period of truce in the Peloponnesian War. But just as the marble of all these sculptures is not Attic, so it would not be easy to maintain that the workmen (who for that reason could not have carved the slabs in Athens) were themselves Athenians. Yet for the Niobid in Rome, though it is impermissible to be dogmatic where so subjective a judgment is involved, the marble itself seems no more purely and authentically Attic than does every mark of rasp and chisel which imparts so marvelous a bloom and freshness to the smallest surface and the tiniest ridge or furrow.

We are left therefore with the quandary of reconciling a purely Attic statue made not later than 440 B. C. with two friezes, non-Attic in material<sup>2</sup> and possibly non-Attic in workmanship, cut not earlier than the late 20's, although, if any chronological discrepancy existed, it is the statue which should have been later than the frieze. This is not a fatal objection to the assignment of the Terme Niobid to the Bassai pediments; but it can be neither ignored nor casually dismissed.

We have used the Stumbling Niobid for a comparison of her head with the quondam Perseus, and of her pose with the Youth from Subiaco. She may serve us for still another comparison. As the only authenticated fifth-century feminine nude in the round, it is illuminating to see how completely her every detail differs from that most interesting ancient fraud perpetrated by some ingenious Roman copyist and generally known in modern times under the title of

<sup>1</sup> In my monograph on *The Sculpture of the Nike Temple Parapet* (Harvard University Press, 1929), I assigned its series of reliefs to the period of six or seven years between the false peace of 421 B. C. and the Sicilian Expedition of 415 B. C., thus disagreeing with the more usual dating at the close of the Peloponnesian War. I did not realise at the time that echoes from the Parapet appear on certain treaty reliefs which can be dated earlier than the end of the war, e. g. the proxeny decree for Sotimos of Herakleia (*Jhb.* xxx [1915] p. 88 fig. 9), which derives from the seated Athena with the shield (no. 28 = my pl. xxiv). As such minor reliefs are not creative, but borrow current types from elsewhere, and as this proxeny relief is known to be earlier than 410 B. C. and may be as early as 415 B. C., the prior date of the Parapet is

practically proved by such methods of comparison. (On these dated reliefs cf. BINNEBOESSEL, *Studien zu den attischen Urkundenreliefs des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts*, Inauguraldissertation Leipzig, 1932.) The similarity between some of the Parapet reliefs and certain slabs of the Bassai frieze has long been remarked; and as the sculptural (as distinguished perhaps from the more specifically pictorial) style of the frieze is not more developed than the Parapet, and agrees very closely in certain crucial mannerisms, it becomes very difficult to separate these by more than a few years.

<sup>2</sup> The metopes of the exterior Doric order are cut in a better grade of marble than the interior Ionic frieze; but in neither case does the material appear to be Pentelic.



## The Esquiline Venus

(PLATES 13-14).

It has long been a commonplace of Greek sculptural history that the early sculptors learned their drapery from their feminine, their anatomy from their masculine, commissions. By virtue of a fortunate social convention, boys, youths, and even grown men did not shrink from allowing themselves to be seen naked in ordinary life, and this convention transferred itself naturally to the inanimate world of sculptural representation. Even the male gods are as unhesitant as young athletes to strip themselves. But for the women, and hence for feminine statues of mortals and goddesses alike, the social convention demanded thorough-going concealment of the body. The courtesans, the dancing-girls and flute-players, might behave as they chose and as their profession and social position demanded; but even these could rarely elude the common restriction when they passed from actual life into the still world of art<sup>1</sup>. It was easier for these feminine nudes to penetrate to the paintings on drinking-cups and banquet-vases than to the more serious, permanent, and costly realm of statuary in bronze and marble<sup>2</sup>. Hence a frankly nude girl with all her garments laid aside, arranging her hair, and standing still in unselfconscious unconcern — I am intending to describe the Esquiline Venus — stands alone in early sculpture. And in Greek art the unique is rightly always the suspect.

Scholarly opinion about her has tended more and more in recent comments to deny her claims to be that which at first sight she might seem to those who still persist in turning their prime attention to the head of an ancient statue. It is no flippancy to remark that everything depends on whether the critic starts from the head or the foot of this particular work: the surer his knowledge of style, the more discordant will be the consequent chronological verdict. Let us keep to the traditional fallacy, and look first at the head (PL. 13 A).

The hair is linear and schematic and, like the headband, is carved on a smooth cap of stone which differs in no respect from the shape of the skull underneath it except for the sudden protrusion of a crooked mass behind to represent the knot of hair, which the left hand holds in place while the right hand draws tight the encircling ribbon. Over the forehead the hair terminates in curled strands, whose convolutions alternate with unexpected decorative variety and even occasionally (and illogically) give place to returning loops that disappear beneath the headband instead of ending on the forehead. In answer to the simple query whether the girl's hair is cut short or worn long, we shall have to answer with some embarrassment that it is both at once!

The features are edged and sharply cut. The bridge of the nose runs out of the forehead without break. The orbicular plane revolves and shows a protruding central ridge or fold. The upper eyelid crosses and continues rather far beyond the lower, which lacks the usual curvature and is drawn up with an effect vaguely reminiscent of later Aphrodites. The eyes are set in the shallow early manner on a sloping plane which brings the top of the eyeball further forward than the bottom. The lips have the severe seriousness of transitional art, but unexpectedly turn upward at the corners, as though about to smile. The cheeks are flat and lie in the lateral plane of the head. The under surface of the chin is perfectly flat and straight. There is no modeling except such as the outline of the individual features imposes. Like the hair, the head may

<sup>1</sup> Compare, for what it may be worth as evidence, the story in Pliny (*N. H.* xxxiv 72) about the courtesan Leaina who refused to betray the conspiracy of Harmodius and Aristogeiton and was honored with a statue — but not in the guise of a courtesan.

<sup>2</sup> The nude flute-girl on the Ludovisi Throne relief is consequently always associated by modern critics more closely with the vase-painters' than with the sculptors' repertory.



not be quite true to style in every detail, but reproduces none the less the essential traits of early-fifth century art. 460 B. C. would be about the right date, except for an uncomfortable suspicion that the copyist has tampered slightly with his original, particularly in the lower eyelids and the corners of the mouth, and has worked down the contour of the cheek a little too pointedly to the chin. The so-called "Charioteer" of the Conservatori<sup>1</sup> has a head which, except for these minor details, agrees well enough to establish the general chronological and stylistic environment of the head from which the Esquiline Venus drew.

The neck is small and rises out of a torso of very strange stylistic character. If one will compare the basalt statue of a boy in the Terme (PL. 16 B)<sup>2</sup>, it will be apparent that not merely the features of the face, but the entire upper portion of the torso from shoulders to waist (*but only this upper portion*) presents a stylistic and anatomical analogy in spite of the difference of sex. There is the same rounding of the upper contour of the arm at the deltoid, the same long sloping chest (which seems to pass under the girl's breasts as though these had merely been superimposed and attached), the same emphasis on the groove of the sternum and on the epigastric arch, the same flatness and squareness, with slightly too great breadth for the height.

But at the waist all similarity abruptly ceases. The square outline gives place to a rounder one; the surfaces are no longer flat within linear boundaries, but rise and fall with correct consequent lights and shadows. Still more surprisingly, borrowing from the male canon is now entirely avoided. From waist to feet, the Esquiline Venus is precisely such a study in the feminine nude as the more famous Aphrodite from Cyrene in the Terme. Della Seta has already made this same observation; but it is not until the two statues are set photographically side by side on the same page (PL. 14) that the full import of the comparison emerges. For the Cyrene Aphrodite tells us at first glance what is wrong with her sister of the Esquiline — a boy's body has been added just above the great oblique muscle!

So unusual a solution will require rather unusually convincing proof, since it is only natural that it should be viewed with considerable skepticism. However, once it is accepted, it will be seen that it is not difficult to find a plausible explanation for its occurrence.

The hypothesis asserts that two wholly unrelated statues have been used and mechanically combined at the level of the waist. A photograph deliberately chosen for its exaggeration of the highly illumined surfaces (PL. 13 B) will reproduce with remarkable clarity the seam or junction at the waist and make apparent the abrupt change in angle between the upper and lower back. It was natural that the discrepancies should be relegated as far as possible to this less important aspect; but even in the frontal view there are unavoidable incoherences. The greater width of the male waist occasioned the suppression of the upper portion of the oblique muscle, where the feminine form narrows to its smallest measurement. The more evenly rounded feminine abdomen made difficult the transition to the sunken linea alba and the salient rectus abdominis of the masculine upper portion, with the result that the reëntrant curve of the abdomen just below the navel had to be omitted in order to carry the surfaces over, and the navel lies unnaturally deep at the bottom of a heavily channeled central groove.

It is here that the Stumbling Niobid gives us invaluable assistance by showing how a mid-fifth century sculptor would actually have treated the feminine torso by adaptation of the already acquired traditional male formulation. In the Niobid the divisions of the thorax are given in masculine form with great breadth and firmness, but with a shallower treatment of the grooves and a more continuously rounded rendering of the general surfaces. Even though the pectoral muscles are too developed, the breasts grow out of them as an integral part. Above, the region of the clavicle and the deltoid are more continuous than in the male canon, less interrupted by emphasis on the individual muscles. In short, the Niobid shows in every detail of the torso an intelligent but incomplete adaptation of the male canon toward forms in which the muscles are less emphasised and more uniformly covered, whereas the Esquiline Venus is far more naturalistically feminine below the waist and far more unmodifiedly masculine above, with an extremely embarrassed transition at the line of change and a purely superficial adaptation at the breasts.

A very mechanical device would show the disparity of contour between the upper and lower torso. If a plaster cast of the statue were sawed horizontally in two, at a level a few inches above the waist, and the

<sup>1</sup> H. STUART JONES, *Cat. Conservatori*, p. 211 f. no. 4 (pl. 80); Alinari 27172.

<sup>2</sup> Alinari 7044; *Röm. Mitt.* x (1895) pl. 1.



resultant cross-section graphically recorded, and a second horizontal cross-section were similarly recorded for a level a few inches below the waist, it would be seen that a pier-like upper torso has been forcibly adapted to a more cylindrical body. This difference of outline naturally does not prove a change of sex, but a change of stylistic period. The four-faced rectangle is a survival of the archaic quadrifrontal technique such as survived even as late as the lifetime of Polykleitos; the more cylindrical contour attests the plurifacial approach of a more naturalistic phase, such as was not attained by Greek sculpture till the period just before the Hellenistic Age. Thus the upper element, like the head, derives from the fifth century B. C., the lower element from some later prototype.

If we will remember that it was not until the latter half of the fourth century that the naked Aphrodite type had been sanctioned and developed, we shall have found the clue to our peculiar enigma: there was no other way for a Roman copyist to produce a mid-fifth century feminine nude.

We can only suppose that, in the period in which the maker of the Esquiline Venus made and sold his statuary, the market for nude Aphrodites continued reasonably safe and certain, but the highest prices were being paid for work of the earlier schools of the fifth century masters. To combine the two tastes and meet both demands, what was urgently needed was a nude Aphrodite from the time of Myron, Pythagoras, or Pheidias — especially as such a marble would possess the unique interest of novelty because (as far as information ran) these masters and their contemporaries had left no such statue for later generations to admire. Our statue-carver hit on a device for supplying the omission — who shall deny with what immediate financial benefit to himself?

Let us first repeat that no such thing as a nude Aphrodite existed in early-fifth century Greek sculpture. We know this to be true, not merely from the negative argument that no such statue is recorded and none has survived, but from the more positive observation that the type develops gradually through a progressive dropping and shedding of garments, at first under pretext of some occasion in the statuary theme (as in the Niobid) and only at the last with bland indifference to every scruple. Next, let us be emphatic in saying that Greco-Roman statue-cutters were quite literally copyists and could only make statues from statues. They did not improvise by cutting forms of men and women freehand out of blocks of stone, nor did they model clay *maquettes* in various archaising styles from which to construct their statuary. The precise correspondence which we find in minute details of measurement between replicas of the same type proves that, just as bronzes were mechanically recast from moulds of their prototypes, so marbles were precisely pointed-off, detail for detail, and thus made to produce lineal descendants of themselves as faithfully as famous works of literature produced their generations of manuscripts. But if statues were made only from statues, from what could an early-fifth century nude Aphrodite be made? The Esquiline Venus gives us the only rational, but none the less an ingenious, answer.

It must have been as true in Roman times as it is now, that the general run of the public judged a statue's date and period mainly by its head; but our marble-worker was too astute to confine himself to so partial and imperfect an indication of antiquity. An ordinary Hellenistic Venus surmounted by some well-chosen fifth century head could never hope to pass as a piece of fifth century statuary. On the other hand he just as obviously could not expect to pass off an entire boy victor statue as a nude girl from that period merely by a few salient and essential changes. And therefore the Venus would have to be an ordinary Venus as far as the waist and be drawn perforce from the copyist's everyday repertorium; but from the waist up, the inspiration was to be drawn from an authentic fifth century source. Mature male bodies were muscularly too developed and too large in scale; but a boy's body would have the softness of immaturity and might be very nearly of the size required. Yet alas, only approximately so! Since the boy's total stature would be less than a woman's, the vertical dimensions would all fall a trifle short; and since a boy athlete (and only from among the victor statues could an original be found, so that the boy must necessarily have been an athlete) would be broader-waisted, more stocky than a girl, the horizontal dimensions would tend to work out a trifle large. Front to back, the skeleton would prove a little thin. A certain amount of trimming and polishing could always be done; but as the main forms in their dimensions and change of surface had to be reached inside the block of stone by direct pointing, the woman would still be a boy — not so patently as to make the imposture obvious at first sight, but sufficiently to impart, along with a curious piquancy, a strangely unseizable and uncomfortable impression of something amiss, in short precisely that feeling of attraction mixed



with uneasy suspicion which has greeted the Esquiline Venus' reappearance in the world of men since her discovery in 1874.

If the back be examined once again (PL. 13 A), it will be seen that the large shoulders, the flat shoulder blades with their accentuated scapular movement, the lean flesh over small but developed muscle, indeed possess a unity of style which ceases abruptly at the shallow horizontal groove across the small of the back, and that immediately beneath this "seam" (which is further betrayed by a change in the vertical axis of the figure at this level) the whole scale alters and the spare boyish form gives place to the heavy rounded contours of a mature woman's body.

The knot of hair at the back of the head must be an addition of the copyist, since it forms a mass at variance with the simple and clear contour of the head and is attached clumsily and crookedly. If a guess may be hazarded to explain why the knot is not in line with the main axis of the skull, it is that the left hand did not reach so far in the prototype and could not be extended without serious alteration of the entire arm. How then was the hand of the prototype occupied if the theme, being male, excluded such a knot of hair? Again the guess is cheaply made and not too venturesome: if the boy was indeed a victor in the games, he should have been either crowning his head with a wreath or tying a fillet around his hair. In short, a *stephanoumenos* or a *diadoumenos* was taken for model and adapted with a minimum of improvisation to the new requirements of the altered theme.

The water-jug with the curled cobra and the discarded drapery is such as almost any Roman copyist might supply; but the little block beneath the jar is more unusual with its open-work decoration of closely set flower-heads in an all-over pattern sharply edged with drilled furrows and enlivened with perforations. It is not a perfectly flat black-and-white drilled style, so that it hardly seems Severan, in spite of the presence of the characteristic little bridges left in the marble. Rather there is a reminiscence of floral panels such as may be found on cinerary urns of the Claudian period. Those of the Platorini<sup>1</sup> may not be the best discoverable parallel; but it is obvious and ready to hand, and shows the same slightly trumpet-shaped five-petaled flowers, the same use of perforations to enliven the detail, the same lack of any structural pattern or design. In the Venus the accessory drapery is fairly naturalistic, in the Claudian manner, but badly lacerated by the harshly bitten furrows. The tiny bead-and-reel around the neck of the jar is more carefully cut, and both it and the other details of the jar are purer classicistic than one would expect of early-third century work, whereas they seem appropriate enough for the first half of the first century after Christ. A better student of such details might well define their period more closely and more convincingly; but it would not be surprising if he reached much the same conclusion, because the whole conception of this curious pastiche of a Hellenistic Aphrodite with a fifth-century *pais diadoumenos* demands a public of rather precious tastes without very sure discrimination — which admirably defines the Claudian period.

The history of Roman appreciation of Greek art would make a chapter well worth writing, though perhaps not easy to assemble; if I venture to sketch it lightly in these pages, it is with no great assurance of its accuracy. The Roman military conquest of Macedonia and Achaia around the second quarter of the second century B. C. inevitably included important works of art amid the memorable booty; but it would seem that these were displayed and dedicated in Rome more as booty than as art. It is difficult to find in Roman work of the time any extensive influence exerted by the brilliantly extravagant Greek art of the third quarter of this same century, which flourished especially on the Asia Minor coast. Even the magnificent Greek tradition in portraiture at this period, which should have made so strong an appeal to the instinctive Italian sense for realism, seems to have had no immediate contemporary repercussion at Rome. With the turn of the century this baroque and virtuoso phase spent itself in the Hellenistic cities, and an extremely linear style of marked simplicity and rather empty classicistic leanings became the fashion. Out of its over-abundant repetition of ridges and furrows the Roman *togatus*-style may have been formed; but the whole movement was rather utilitarian and pedestrian, suiting the more practical need of statuary commemorative of living men. It awakened no great sensibility for art either in Greece or in Italy, and certainly would have offered little stimulus for an understanding interest in the great sculptural past of Hellas.

<sup>1</sup> Alinari 7050; ALTMANN, *Röm. Grabaltäre der Kaiserzeit*, 44-48, esp. fig. 36.



When one considers how thoroughly Cicero admired Greek letters, philosophy, and science, it strikes a strangely discordant note to hear him plume himself on his ignorance of Greek sculpture and half patronizingly, half apologetically explain to a Roman court of law that Greeks must be condoned for their peculiar mania for art. I quote from Book IV of the Second Part of the *Verrine Orations* (in the Loeb translation): —

"This decorative stuff, these artistic productions, statues and pictures and so on, afford all Greek persons only too much pleasure: so that when we hear their tale of distress [*sc.* at losing these treasures to Verres] we can see why they feel acutely miserable at what we, perhaps, feel to be negligible trifles.... Believe me, gentlemen, when I tell you that no community anywhere in Asia or in Greece has of its own free will sold any statue or any picture or any civic work of art whatever to anyone on any occasion..... They account it the height of disgrace to have it set down in their public records that their community was induced by the offer of money... to sell and alienate its ancestral heirlooms. It is indeed quite astonishing what delight a Greek will take in these things of which a Roman thinks so little.... that they, since they enjoy so much these things for which we care so little, might have them to cheer and console them in their state of subjection". (*In C. Verrem*, II iv, 132-4).

Here is indeed already sounded the note of the often quoted Vergilian

*Excudent alii spirantia mollius aera  
credo equidem, vivos ducent de marmore vultus,  
tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento;  
hae tibi erunt artes....* (*Aeneid*, VI 847-52).

But by the time of the Augustan poet the emphasis has changed from an almost contemptuous condescension to an admission of Greek artistic superiority bordering almost on envy. Perhaps the change is partly due to the differing temper of the advocate and the poet, since there is other evidence enough (as we shall see at a considerably later page of this study) that through Sulla and Lucullus Greek sculpture as a living industry had already been brought to Rome and hence was already rooted there when Cicero prosecuted Verres in 70 B. C. Approximately at this same time it is probable that Pasiteles of Naples *quinque volumina scripsit nobilium operum in toto orbe*, as Pliny records<sup>1</sup>, and Roman collectors and connoisseurs began to distinguish and evaluate the great names of the classic period of Greek art. Cicero can still (with what intent is of course disputable) feign to have difficulty in remembering these great names. Earlier in the same speech from which we have been quoting, he gives us a glimpse into the official Roman attitude of 70 B. C. toward such Greek masters: —

"... a marble Cupid by Praxiteles — I learnt the artist's names, you will understand, in the course of my investigations as prosecutor. It is, I believe (*opinor*), the same sculptor who made the similar Cupid at Thespieae..... opposite to it stood an admirable bronze Hercules, said to be the work of Myron, I believe — yes, it was so (*dicebatur ... ut opinor, et certe*).... These statues were called Canephorae; but the sculptor — who was he? now who did they say he was? oh yes, thank you — Polyclitus". (*In C. Verrem*, II iv 4 f.). Upon which the Loeb translator, L. H. G. Greenwood, remarks:

"In any public speech it was 'bad form' for a Roman gentleman to profess, or even to imply, any expert knowledge of art, or to assume such knowledge on the part of his hearers".

This affectation (based on sober ignorance) must have given way before the widespread information supplied by Pasiteles, Varro, and their kind. A little later, we may infer a considerable change in taste by observing the shift from the contemporary living technique of advanced realism (visible in portraits of the period of Julius Caesar) to the classicistic idealism based on Polykleitos and other fifth century masters, which more and more dominates the portraits of Augustus as the first century before Christ draws to its close and the following century begins.

Such a shift of taste from the brilliantly effective realism of Late Republican portraiture — which any Roman could approve and comprehend — to the deliberately unreal restraint of classicistic idealism — which the average Roman would have to learn (or else merely pretend) to admire, — such a shift of taste involved dictation from above, whether from the hierarchy of political power (since the emperor himself must ultimately have approved the turn) or from that more precarious and hence more bitterly self-assertive hierarchy of the aesthetes and cultural arbiters. It is not until this point that we reach at last a culture in which such a hybrid as the Esquiline Venus could be propagated. With a premium on fifth century sculpture, with a gradual exhaustion of the available supply of originals and a growing familiarity with their repetitious copies

<sup>1</sup> N. H. XXXVI, 39. On Pasiteles cf. the section in the Introduction (pp. LXXVII-LXXXII) to JEX-BLAKE and SELLERS, *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art*.



with a consequent emphasis on any novelty which belonged to the desirable period, and with a public still not too sure of its criteria of style — the Esquiline Venus was certain of a market. For that same Claudian market of Early Imperial Rome I conclude that it was deliberately planned and produced.

No proof has been offered to show that the Venus could not equally well have been produced in a later period; but passing in review the character of the Flavian, Trajanic, and Hadrianic periods, one will find no other so satisfactorily meeting the conditions of the problem. Only the Late Antonine might once again have brought the necessary combination of classicising traditions dominating a jaded market in which the usual repertory had become too familiar and any novelty appealing to the imagined connoisseurship of eager but uninformed collectors would have found a ready buyer. And in favor of so late (or even a slightly later) date must be urged the undeniable recorded fact that the Venus was found in the Villa Palombara among the débris of a building of the time of Alexander Severus<sup>1</sup> along with two Tritons and two draped female statues, whose date of manufacture is not demonstrably early, and a bust of Commodus deified as Hercules, whose date is by its very subject-matter necessarily late. If the Esquiline Venus was really produced in the late-second or early-third century after Christ, the previously presented sketch of the history of Roman sculptural taste will demand drastic expansion and revision. But the question is by no means insoluble. A qualified student in the field of Roman ornament, who studies the adjuncts of drapery, water-jar, uraeus-snake, and flower panel with sufficient attention, should be able once for all to put an end to the dilemma.

A closely analogous problem is set by another and even more familiar statue in this same collection of the Conservatori, a bronze which has enjoyed enormous popularity in the modern world, wherein it has been demonstrably known for so many centuries that one wonders whether it has ever slept underground at all since the ancient times in which it was made. I refer to the little bronze boy so attentively extracting an invisible thorn from the sole of his foot, universally known under his Italian nickname of

### Lo Spinario (PLATE 15).

The problem of the date and ultimate ancestry of this skillfully repaired and reconditioned bronze formerly ranked among the most redoubtable and thorny discussions attaching to the Roman sculpture galleries; but it has gradually solved itself under the very eyes of the watching archaeologists. It had been apparent for a long time that at least five possible solutions would have to be taken into account, according as it was maintained that the Spinario was (1) a Greek original of the fifth century B. C., (2) a Roman recasting of such an original, (3) a Roman modification or adaptation from an early Greek original, (4) a Roman original in its own right, but in an archaising manner, (5) a *pastiche* or composite creation. But it was seemingly impossible to ascertain with any convincing degree of certainty which one of these five mutually exclusive hypotheses was correct.

The incurable habit of judging a statue's style by its head led to the emphasis on the fifth century B. C. which dominates all of these solutions. It was only as archaeological eyes grew better trained to consider the nude that this emphasis began to weaken and it was seen that the first of the five solutions — obviously the most attractive because conferring the most artistic importance on the statue — was untenable. The combination of a fifth century head with a body which, because of the tridimensional rendering of its pose and the naturalistic indication of its anatomic detail, could hardly be earlier than the Lysippan School, was recognized by most critics to be an insuperable objection. On this aspect there is nowadays such general agreement in competent quarters that the argument need not be pressed. The skeptical or unconvinced will find a completely competent statement covering both the pose and the anatomical forms in Della Seta's treatise, *Il Nudo nell'Arte* (I, p. 610).

<sup>1</sup> H. STUART JONES, *Cat. Conserv.*, p. 142.



With the elimination of the first of the five hypotheses, the second one automatically disappears and the third becomes suspect.

In 1874 there was found in Rome and shortly afterward acquired by the British Museum a marble version of the Spinario, agreeing very closely in almost every respect except that it had a totally different and wholly unarchaic head<sup>1</sup>. It is not a work of high technical merit and seems to have been no more than a commercial fountain-figure for a Roman garden. But for that very reason it may represent a popularly current type and thus show us the true prototype from which the bronze Spinario was taken. Since its unidealised, but also not exaggeratedly realistic, head reflects a style of much the same period and phase as the body, i. e. the early-third century B. C.<sup>2</sup>, this inference (which was promptly drawn by intelligent critics) has everything to recommend it. But, if true, it would permit the further conclusion that the head of the bronze Spinario (and hence the only part of it which could lay any claim to being of fifth century origin) must either have been improvised *ad hoc* or borrowed from some other statue.

In the Museo Mussolini there is a marble head (PL. 16 A, C)<sup>3</sup> from the Esquiline, part of the material transferred from the old Antiquarium Comunale, which has proved extremely pertinent to our present problem because it reproduces the head of the bronze Spinario in identical scale, but disagrees with it in possessing a different neck. Although it lacks the delicate refinement of the bronze head, its expression is more consistently fifth century, with the slight moodiness which often (and probably not too deliberately) resulted from the tenets and formulas of the Severe Style. The upper eyelid does not cross so far beyond the lower, and the hair ends in simpler strands; but otherwise the two heads are very nearly identical — except for the neck, which in the marble version is perfectly straight, indicating that the head had been carried erect, and shows the low diagonal ridge of the deltomastoid on the right side, implying a slight turn toward its left. The head had been cut in a separate block from the missing torso, into which it had once been fitted; and this procedure would have been neither necessary nor natural, had the torso reproduced the doubled-up body of the Spinario.

In connection with this marble head, certain very unusual details of technical procedure have been noted and, in my opinion, rather consistently misinterpreted. The top and back of the crown are missing, but obviously had once been cut on a separate L-shaped piece of stone and attached with two metal dowels. The existence of this "L" has been taken as proof that the head was tilted forward into the horizontal position which it assumes in the Spinario, the shorter arm of the "L" serving to prevent the rest of the marble cap from slipping. There are endless instances of patchwork in marble and attachment by doweling among our collections of ancient statuary, but no evidence that the marble-workers ever entertained any fear lest the dowels would not hold or the attached piece slip from place. The present instance is a mend, to repair an injury; and its peculiar shape testifies that the injury was more extensive than penetrating, and took the form of superficial chipping or splintering from a heavy blow.

In the broken neck there are traces of two large drilled channels intersecting at right angles, one running vertically up out of the torso, the other somewhat smaller and running horizontally from front to back through the neck below the chin. These borings have been taken as further proof that the head was originally affixed in a horizontal position. If one considers the Spinario, imagining a head out of a separate piece of marble, and asks oneself how such a marble head could be fastened in place on such a marble torso without risk of snapping or loosening, one recognizes at once that some more elaborate precaution than the usual straight metal peg might well have been employed. But the primary fallacy lies in assuming that a marble-cutter copying the Spinario would ever have made the head out of a separate piece. We may see from the version in the British Museum how he would have been likely to proceed. Here a single block served for the main compact mass of the figure and comprised everything except the projecting right lower leg below the horizontal level of the thigh. Not the head, but this extended lower limb from just below the level of the knee, was the logical element to cut separately and attach by doweling — a perfectly natural and workmanlike decision.

<sup>1</sup> A. H. SMITH, *Cat. Sc. Brit. Mus.*, III (1904), n. 1755; cf. RAVET, *Monuments de l'Art Antique*, I, *Le Tireur d'Épine*, with excellent illustration. This statue is sometimes referred to as the Castellani Spinario.

<sup>2</sup> For another such Early Hellenistic "*ragazzo di strada*" cf. the bronze jockey from the sea near Artemesium, now in the Athens National Museum.

<sup>3</sup> MUSTILLI, *Il Museo Mussolini*, p. 144 f. (Inv. 1755), pl. LXXXIX.



If it be recalled that the entire figure is not quite 30 inches in height, it will be seen how little temptation there was to cut the head out of a separate piece, to say nothing of cutting and fitting the top of the crown out of still another fragment.

The effective counter argument therefore will maintain that a marble-cutter was not in the least likely to have worked so small a head in two pieces. If there was any risk of the cap-piece slipping (as the inference from the use of an "L" supposes), it would have been far more natural to have obviated the danger entirely by not having recourse to a cap-piece at all. In the same way, if the horizontal position of the head necessitated such an elaborate device as a large central tenon held in place by a cross-pin driven through the neck from front to back, it would have been far easier to have cut the head out of one piece with the block as the maker of the London version did, especially as the entire upper portion of the statue was so composed that it naturally all lay within a single simple cube of stone. If the Museo Mussolini head was none the less not of one piece with its body, it may be suggested that this was because it was intended to be carried erect and hence presented no possible difficulty of attachment when carved separately.

Then why the elaborate device of tenon and pin?

To such a query we are not strictly bound to offer any reply, except to say that, whatever the true explanation, the explanation hitherto offered is erroneous. But if that be considered an ungracious refusal to satisfy an adversary, a fairly obvious alternative suggestion may be made.

If the marble head formed part of a statue in some perfectly normal erect pose, as its straight neck indicates, a heavy object falling upon it and striking it from above would have splintered the crown. If the blow had been directed slightly from the statue's right and from in back, not merely would the corresponding region of the head have sustained the injury, but the whole head might have been torn from the body, breaking out the marble around the central vertical dovetail. Alternatively, the statue might have fallen over backward, striking against some projecting object, with much the same resulting injury. To repair the damage, a new crown was cut and attached and a more complicated reinforcement of tenon and cross-pin substituted for the single dovetail, which could not be replaced because of the weakening of its bed and destruction of the immediately surrounding marble. The ultimate disaster which overtook the statue seems to have repeated this earlier misfortune, since the patch on the crown was torn off and the entire left side of the neck broken away. Damage to the left nostril and the left point of the chin, in direct alignment with the break in the neck, indicates that a blow was again struck from above, from in back, and from the right. However, the archaeologist is not a detective reconstructing a crime; and there is no obligation to prove more than the general thesis that the technical peculiarities of the marble replica of the Spinario head are more probably due to repair of an injury than to the exigencies of the original installation. That they do not prove that the head was ever in a horizontal position results from the prior consideration that such a pose would be anatomically impossible for a neck thus articulated. This statement admits of formal proof:

Along the right contour, the straight run of the bronze neck is only 28 millimeters in length, while the marble measures nearly twice that amount from a corresponding point at the top of the jaw to the cutting where the swell of the shoulder begins. As is perfectly natural for the pose, the bronze neck shows a lightly convex upper portion where the sternomastoid and trapezius are sunk in a slight hollow above the clavicle. In the living model a tilt of the head and a lifting of the shoulder such as the Spinario makes must occasion just such a slightly bulging compression of the top of the neck underneath the line of the jaw, immediately succeeded by a grooved fold or furrow covering the transition from neck to shoulder<sup>1</sup>. This succession is indicated in the bronze with very much the same correctly studied but unexaggerated naturalism which distinguishes the entire body. But the marble head reveals not the slightest trace of a comparable treatment of the neck, the contour of which runs perfectly straight without ridge or fold, thereby eliminating any tilt toward the shoulder<sup>2</sup>. The deltomastoid, instead of being compressed, shows as a gently raised ridge running in a slanting direction, thus reproducing the normal semi-naturalistic convention of fifth century sculpture to accompany a slight turn of the head toward the opposite side of the body. The original surface of the stone has been preserved and leaves no room for argument. I should not be so insistent in the matter, were it not that normally very competent critics have neglected to observe how utterly conclusive this evidence is. The

<sup>1</sup> Compare the erect head of the beault boy on PLATE



Museo Mussolini head was never attached to a Spinario body for the extremely simple reason that the neck and the pose are anatomically irreconcilable. If only someone would attempt to fix a cast of the marble head *with its neck* on a cast of the bronze body! The resultant suggestion of a turtle thrusting its head from its shell would end all further controversy: *solventur risu tabulae*.

Our immediate conclusion, — that the bronze head and the marble head are derived from the same prototype, but adorned bodies in wholly different poses, — leaves us in no doubt with which of these two poses the head properly belongs; for we have seen that the Spinario head has been consistently classed as fifth century, whereas most of the more recent expert opinion has assigned the body to a considerably later period. And if the head really belonged to some fifth century statue, the straight neck of the marble version which makes it so unsuitable for a Spinario should have been derived from that same original statue. It has often been remarked of the bronze Spinario that the long locks of hair should not hang as they do, but should fall around the boy's eyes, and that such a drastic disregard for the dictates of gravitation is a surprisingly archaic trait in a developed fifth century head. The marble version imposes an explanation for this false archaism, which has indeed been long suspected: in the fifth century original statue the head was held erect and the curls hung naturally in place. Consequently the bronze head must be a direct and mechanically exact recasting (not a remodeling or an improvisation), which with arbitrary disregard for consequences was attached horizontally to a different torso.

But how was such an attachment technically possible if, in the statue from which the cast of the head was taken, the neck was anatomically so different and so unsuitable? Careful inspection will give us a precise reply. We must imagine a bronze head cast from a mould taken from the type in the Museo Mussolini; the immediate task is to make this fit the Spinario body. The neck which properly belongs with this head is unutilisable. On the other hand, the prototype from which the body has been cast offers a correctly articulated and posed neck; but, judging from the British Museum marble version with its short stocky form, this would not have joined with the more delicate fifth century head. The bronze-caster would consequently have been obliged to model and cast separately an entirely new strip of neck to connect the head with the torso; and this is the reason why not merely the head, but also the neck, of the London marble differs so completely from the Spinario in Rome. With three separate units — head, neck, and torso — to be assembled, it would now of course be impossible to follow the traditional Greek technical procedure of joining the head to the body by a meander of interlocking tongues or keys running horizontally through the middle of the neck. Instead, the new neck-strip would have to be fitted, soldered, and filed in place on the torso above the chest, within the line of the shoulders; and the head, trimmed close under the chin along the line of the jaw and in back along the overhang of the hair, would in its turn have to be set upon this neck and fitted, soldered, and filed. Then the entire surface would be burnished, and the joints would disappear from view.

If such a procedure had actually been followed, the bronze Spinario under a strong light and beneath a powerful magnifying-glass should show the traces of a fine seam running close underneath the chin and jaws and another in the region of the clavicles. Ordinary photographs will show that the top of the chest has been patched and restored; and this repair must be attributed to comparatively modern times. But in addition there may be detected traces of precisely the two seams for which we are searching.

In his magisterial study of ancient bronze casting<sup>1</sup>, Kluge has remarked that the right arm and both the legs of the Spinario have been attached by the tongue-and-groove method (*Zahnnacht*), but that this process has *not* been employed for the neck, whose joint he classifies as a repair (*Bruchnacht*). Yet only a couple of pages farther on in his treatise, he freely admits that a blow capable of severing head from body, and thus producing the need for such a repair, must have left a terrific mark somewhere on the head; and of this he admittedly fails to find any trace. But even if there had been a break and a repair, should we not still be able to detect the original assemblage of head and torso? And would not this have been effected with the same tongue-and-groove technique employed for the arm and the legs, unless some special reason existed to make this impractical? To this it cannot be replied that perhaps the head and the body were originally cast

<sup>1</sup> KURT KLUGE, *Die antike Erzgestaltung* = vol. I of KLUGE and LEHMANN-HARTLEBEN, *Die antiken Grossbronzen*; cf. pp. 166, 168.



in a single piece, since this possibility is precluded by the observation that the eyes were inserted from within the head (which could not have been done unless the head were cast and mounted separately). If the empty eye-sockets are examined, it will be seen that their walls are splayed so as to open inwards; and from this it follows that the eyeballs (whatever their material) could not have been inserted and fixed in place from without, but only from within the head. I take it that, in a Roman bronze of such small size, this observation alone suffices to prove that we are dealing with a pastiche assembled by the caster, since otherwise he would not have troubled to make a separate mould for the head. Kluge's careful and professional study of the processes of antique bronze-casting has made it probable that the eyes were set from within in all classical Greek bronze heads. He even goes so far as to suggest that it was only in order that the eyes could be so inserted that the heads were cast separately from the torsos<sup>1</sup>. In Roman Republican times a convenient "improvement" on this painstaking procedure was introduced: the heads were cast in one piece with the bodies and in consequence the eyes were inserted from without into closed conical sockets which did not open into the interior of the head. The next step in commercialization was easy to foresee and was quickly taken: the eyes were cast solid, in one piece with the head, and made lifelike merely by engraving and gilding or other color. The ready formula thus implied for dating ancient bronzes is only tentatively suggested by Kluge<sup>2</sup> and not stated in such specific terms as I have ventured to use. It remains to see how well it will maintain itself under closer examination. One result of its acceptance would be the necessity of dating to the first century B. C. all lifesize bronze heads showing solid-walled eye-sockets for the insertion of paste or semi-precious stone eyeballs from the outside. This verdict would apply, *inter alia*, to the Seated Boxer of the Terme, the boxer's head from Olympia now in the Athens National Museum, and the "Hellenistic Ruler" of the Terme. Personally, I should welcome precisely this dating in all three instances; but there are many of the profession to whom it would not commend itself. Yet the Seated Boxer is now sufficiently well fixed to this period by the signature of Apollonios Nestoros on a thong of his glove. The boxer's head from Olympia is conceived so plastically and modeled so freely that it is extraordinary that any date earlier than the second quarter of the second century B. C. was ever proposed for it; and the indication of its eyebrows in terms of a finely engraved herringbone agrees with a further observation of Kluge<sup>3</sup>, who states that he has failed to note this mannerism on earlier heads and accepts it as distinctive of Late Republican times. As for the "Hellenistic Ruler", I shall return to him more explicitly later in this study.

This digression brings us back to the Spinario with the knowledge that the unmistakable tendency of the eye-socket to open inward is proof positive that the head was cast separately and that therefore the traces of the peculiar attachment of the head to the neck must refer to the original assemblage of the statue and not to some supposed repair. And this observation in turn finds its explanation in the need for a specially cast strip of neck to connect a completely alien and intractable head with a body for which it never was intended.

It was remarked at the beginning of this rather protracted discussion that the problem of the Spinario had solved itself under the eyes of the watching archaeologists. But not all of the spectators have been watching with equal attention. As long ago as 1920 Anti<sup>4</sup> gave a perfectly correct, though very condensed, statement of the situation; but not everyone since then has heeded what he wrote. Yet the terms of a complete proof are all available; and it is these terms which we have tried to bring forward one by one to state their case. The final conclusion follows automatically and without further plea or peroration.

The German excavation of Priene brought to light a terracotta<sup>5</sup> which was a coarse but able caricature of the Spinario. It is obvious, however, that the type of head which was being parodied was not the long-locked *pais kalos* of the bronze in Rome, but the short-haired urchin of the marble version in London, thus supplying a further proof that the true prototype of current fame in Late Hellenistic times was, as we have been led to conclude, *not* the bronze pastiche of the Conservatori.

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 168; but is it not conceivable that the separate casting of the heads was a survival from the time when everything was cast in small pieces and assembled, because large complicated castings seemed technically precarious or even impossible?

<sup>2</sup> *Cf. op. cit.* pp. 76, 168 f. and *s. r. Augenbehandlung* in the index to vol. II of the *Grossbronzen*.

<sup>3</sup> *Grossbronzen*, II, pp. 3 (top), 4 (top), 23 (bottom).

<sup>4</sup> *Mon. Ant.* XXVI (1920), 745.

<sup>5</sup> WIEGAND-SCHRADER, *Priene*, figs. 434-5.



It would be interesting to know from what fifth century statue the maker of the bronze drew his charming head. It has been compared (very justly) with the Triptolemos on the great hieratic relief from Eleusis, less cogently with the Petrograd Eros. I might add a boy's head, the Eros from Brauron, in Copenhagen<sup>1</sup> to show that the prototype must date fairly well along in the fifth century; and this furnishes still another indication that the original head must have been carried erect, since such a date is altogether too late for so pronounced an archaism as the horizontally floating curls. Anti<sup>2</sup> has some suggestions for the type of the missing body, to go with the head; but it would appear that the statue is at present unidentifiable. Since the pastiche seems to have been made in Rome (because Rome has yielded both the Castellani version of the Early Hellenistic theme which supplied the body and the Museo Mussolini version of the advanced fifth century type which supplied the head), it is not unreasonable to hope that the rest of the fifth century standing boy from which the head was taken may some day be discovered or identified.

In appraising the rather minute differences of detail which undeniably exist between the bronze Spinario head and the marble replica, account must be taken of the probable procedure of the copyists. In making a marble copy the stone-cutter would have pointed off all the main measurements and significant details, but hardly with the profusion and mechanical precision of a modern artisan cutting a marble from a plaster cast of an artist's original clay. The final surface and much of the minor linear detail would have been done freehand and hence would have given considerable play to the cutter's own feeling for style and skill in workmanship. On the other hand, in order to make a bronze replica, a direct negative cast would have been taken from the prototype, within this as a mould a layer of wax would have been pressed or poured, and into this a core would have been introduced. The enveloping cast would next have been removed, exposing the wax; and on this positive surface, details could have been freely added or altered with modeling tools, provided that there was no serious tampering with the thickness of this wax coat over the core (since this controlled the thickness of the bronze in the final casting). The finished model would now be enveloped in a clay mantle, iron pegs would be driven through to support the core, and after slow drying, the wax would have been melted out and the molten bronze poured in its place<sup>3</sup>. After the mantle had been broken away, the crust or casting-skin would have to be removed with metal tools, the smooth surfaces burnished, and a great wealth of linear detail added in the hair. A thin sheet of gold or red copper would be inserted on the lips; the hair would probably have been gilded; and the eyes would be fixed in place from within the head. It is obvious from this account that a great deal of craftsmanship was inevitably superimposed on the mere mechanical procedure of making the mould and the casting; so that it is not to be wondered at if a bronze version and a marble copy from practically the same original should differ considerably. To the caster of the Spinario head may be attributed some of the pseudo-archaic repetitious neatness in the hair on the crown, possibly the addition of the tiny subsidiary strands in the partings of the hair over the eyes, and almost certainly the exaggerated projection of the upper eyelids beyond the lower (which recalls the similar treatment in the Esquiline Venus). Some of the ends of the locks of hair may have been modeled and cast separately and then attached and soldered; and these would have imparted a heightened feeling of decorative elaboration discoverable neither in the original head nor in any marble copy.

If our technical analysis is in the least accurate, it is certain that the caster gave himself a vast amount of extra trouble and care by substituting a different head. He was not seeking some easy and careless solution of some chance embarrassment, but deliberately embarking on a creative act of considerable technical difficulty. In short, he was improving on the normal Hellenistic Spinario, not merely varying it. From the sad case of the Esquiline Venus we may guess his ulterior purpose: he too was tampering with despised late art in an attempt to re-evoke the magic (and probably the higher market prices) of the older masters!

<sup>1</sup> ARNDT, *Glyptothèque*, pl. 64.

<sup>2</sup> *Mon. Ant.*, loc. cit.

<sup>3</sup> For brevity, various details of the process have been omitted; cf. the authoritative account in KLUGK, *op. cit.* pp. 105-169.



Our study of fifth century Greek sculpture has thus far prospered mainly by indirection, since neither the Esquiline Venus nor the Spinario has been able to maintain its title to rank as an original from that period or even to have been more than very partially derived from such a source. As for the Lateran Marsyas and the Hermes-Perseus head, admittedly Roman copies of Greek prototypes, we have seen reason for denying them an ulterior connection with any period earlier than 400 B. C. Among all the vast company of statues in the Roman museums, the Stumbling Niobid remains our one unassailable Greek fifth century original! But if statues in the round are lacking, the search will fare better among the reliefs, which were perhaps not so likely to be copied in the first place and hence cannot fail to include a higher percentage of originals among their numbers. To the fifth century and at first hand to Greek (though not in every case Attic or East Greek) masters must be assigned the Archaic Stele of a Girl with a Dove in the Conservatori<sup>1</sup>, the Ludovisi "Throne" in the Terme, and the Peliad Relief in the Lateran. (It has been necessary to leave out of account in this monograph the contents of the private collections, notably the Villa Albani; for although I have more than once been granted the privilege of visiting these, it has not been possible to study them with that repeated and close scrutiny which the Roman authorities so courteously and so unquestioningly permit in all the public galleries.) On two of the three reliefs just mentioned, there are still extensive comments to be made; yet anyone who has even glanced at the enormous modern material which the most famous of the triad has occasioned in archaeological and other journals must approach hesitatingly and with due preliminary apology the topic of

### The Ludovisi Throne.

Even a summary review of the opinions which have been expressed on the purpose of this peculiarly shaped monument and on the interpretation of the carved scenes which it presents is impractical in a study which seeks only to make some contribution to the understanding of the ancient sculptural material in Rome through precise inspection of the actual bronzes and marbles. And even so, it will perhaps be objected that thousands of intelligent eyes have stared at these reliefs and that it is absurd to expect to see anything new merely by examining them more closely. Yet I have searched in vain amid the comments of my contemporaries for any explanation of one of the most obvious observations to be made in the presence of these carvings — that they have been carefully and deliberately mutilated<sup>2</sup>.

This state of affairs is so apparent even in a photograph that it will be possible to follow the analysis from the illustrations. As for the purpose of the mutilation, this is immediately intelligible, since it is confined to the preparation of the sunken triangular beds beneath the figures at the corners of the monument. The extent of the mutilation is not at first sight so apparent. It is most readily detected on the front, where the advanced foot of each of the attendants and some of the pendent drapery have been cut into for the sunken bed. For the sake of orderliness and completeness, it will be better to follow the reliefs more systematically around from wing to wing, beginning at the left with the nude flute-player (PL. 18).

The original surface of the completed relief survives under the unsandaled toes. Behind these there is an abrupt incision of nearly 2 cm. to the new surface of the bed, which has been hollowed out beneath the arch and heel of the flute-girl without encroaching upon the actual carving of the foot. Farther along behind this foot, the cushion on which the girl reclines has been drastically attacked. The corresponding wing-figure of the incense-burner will show the draftsman's original manner and intention. Here the cushion resembles a rectangular leather sack or casing, not very tightly stuffed; the portion which has been doubled under,

<sup>1</sup> H. STUART JONES, *Cat. Conservatori*, p. 212 f.; ASHMOLE, *JHS.* XLII (1922), 248.

<sup>2</sup> Both the Throne and the Counterpart have been most carefully and competently examined on their technical side by ARMIN V. GERKAN (*Jhf.* XXV [1929], 125-172). An intimate acquaintance with this fundamental study must be presupposed for every serious student of the problems raised

in the present discussion. All details of fact as presented by v. Gerkan should be accepted as accurate. It is in the inferences from these facts that a difference of opinion is permissible. I have tried to show how a completely opposite conclusion, implying the unimpeachable authenticity of the Counterpart, can be drawn from virtually the same premises.



and carries the weight of the figure, has been compressed, but still preserves some of its square outline and thickness; while the other end of the cushion, escaping beyond the pressure zone, is bulkier and displays more rounded corners and larger surfaces. The cushion beneath the flute-player does not correspond to this description. That it could not be unfolded to make an intelligibly simple shape is perhaps an indication which cannot be too realistically pressed. But it is hardly possible that the pointed finger which the lower end of the cushion resembles, or the slender tapering horn of the upper end, was ever so drawn or so intended. These two pointed forms which confront one another near the middle of the under contour of the cushion must be the result of rather drastic trimming in order to make room for the sunken triangular bed. It would be possible to produce a fairly close counterpart to the incense-burner's cushion by adding at top and bottom to the underside of the flute-player's cushion. We shall see later that it is a simple matter to determine how much of the original relief here is missing through mutilation.

On the front (PL. 17) with its relief of three figures, the encroachment into the figured carving has been less extensive; but because it attacked the animate and not merely the inanimate detail, it has done more obvious damage. In the attendant on the left, the drapery has not been touched; but the advanced right foot has lost a small part of the heel and a rather large portion of the instep. Beneath the toes, the bedding ends abruptly and the original surface of the relief re-emerges as a narrow horizontal strip (m. .016 broad) which runs at the bottom of the scene, beneath the cloth which the two attendants are holding in front of the central figure, only to disappear with equal abruptness where the bedding for the other corner of the monument begins. On this side the damage is much more extensive. To be sure, the end of the horizontal base-strip beneath the cloth has suffered accidental injury and the toes of the advanced left foot of the right-hand attendant have similarly been damaged; but the entire sole of the foot from toe to heel was cut away deliberately for the sunken bed, destroying the line of the arch and the base of the heel completely. Behind the other foot the drapery does not finish correctly with the horizontal stepping of the pendent border visible on the opposite attendant; the original border has all been cut away by the rising curve of the bed.

On the right wing (PL. 18) there is at first sight no mutilation of any sort. The triangular bed has been sunk only m. .005 and hence much less deeply than on the other side; and only a slight incision into the curving base of the incense-standard reveals the difference between the original and the final level. This difference may also be detected by sighting along the triangular bed from the corner and observing that the body of the incense-burner herself lies in a slightly higher plane than the blank ornamental field. This experiment will also reveal that the entire upper left-hand portion of the cushion, opposite the vertical end of the triangle of the bed, has been abraded down to the same level as the bed. On a photograph this area may be detected by noticing the sudden cessation of wrinkles in the cushion. Further, the sole of the sandal has been trimmed down to half of its original thickness, so that it no longer touches or rests on the ground.

All these alterations, which so clearly result to the detriment of the relief, certainly imply that the figures were originally carved completely and without expectation of such encroachment upon their lower border — since otherwise they would have been designed and cut slightly further up the stone, where they would have escaped such maltreatment. A second equally convincing proof results from an inspection of the undersurface of the Throne<sup>1</sup>, whereon the anathyrosis for setting the Throne on its base or podium must have been cut before the angles were trimmed to receive their ornaments, since the surviving anathyrosis band has been reduced from an exactly uniform band by precisely the amount of the sunken corner beds<sup>2</sup>. The only possible explanation is that the Throne was prepared for setting in place before its corners were trimmed down and without any expectation that they would be so diminished. But it must not for a moment be argued or imagined that the blank triangular fields at the four angles were not part of the original conception. Every one of the three reliefs is expressly designed to make room for these triangles: the flute-player and the incense-burner prop their cushions against them, and the stony ground beneath the attendants, sloping upward, forces each to set one foot higher than the other. On the right wing the triangular ground has been cut back so very slightly that it is still possible to see how sandal and cushion of the incense-burner were originally framed and set off from the field — an observation which is not possible on any of the other faces of the Throne.

<sup>1</sup> *Jhf.* 1929, p. 135, fig. 53 b.

<sup>2</sup> This is v. Gerkan's deduction, *Jhf.* 1929, 135.



One inference at least is certain, therefore. Something was intended to fill and cover these triangular fields, and that "something" ultimately demanded more space than had been foreseen. The Boston Counterpart has very elaborate ornamental scrolls in positions comparable to these empty triangular fields; but even if the Boston Counterpart had not been known to us, we should hardly have doubted that the filling intended for these fields must have been some sort of attached ornament. The immediate difficulty seems to have been that there was an annoyingly large discrepancy between the ornament which was anticipated and the ornament which was actually applied.

This latter ornament — which must have been an actuality and not merely a project, if the reliefs were mutilated for its reception — cannot have been made of metal, since otherwise the pegs (or at least the drilled holes for the pegs) by which it was fastened to the surface of the stone must still exist<sup>1</sup>. Nor can I think of any pretext for lowering the surface and sinking the beds if any form of metal attachment had been contemplated. On the front panel, the face of the beds for the angle-ornaments forms a true vertical surface, whereas the surface of the carved relief swings inward, following the retreating quoin of the stone so clearly visible in PLATES 18 and 19. As an inevitable consequence, the sinking for the bed grows steadily shallower as it ascends, until at the top it almost completely disappears, being actually reduced from m. .028 to m. .003 on the left and from m. .029 to m. .004 on the right of the panel. Any attached ornament in bronze would have to be either cast in thickness of astonishing variability (m. .029 is in any case too thick for bronze) or else allowed to project unevenly from the stone; whereas if the beds had never been cut at all, a bronze ornament of uniform thickness could have been laid evenly against the sloping marble. I conclude that the deep beds could not have been cut to receive bronze anglepieces. As in the Boston Counterpart, therefore, the ornaments must have been of stone but, unlike the Counterpart, not in the same piece with the figured bulk of the monument. Von Gerkan objects that such separate angle-pieces in marble could not have been cut and attached, and even supplies a drawing<sup>2</sup> to demonstrate their absurdity. In view of the Greek technical traditions of marble patching and joining in sculpture and in architecture, it must be evident that pieces of almost any size or shape, however thin and irregular, could be cut and fixed in position. We shall shortly see that there is reason for believing that the front arms of the angle-pieces, which filled the spaces on either side of the attendants, were trimmed down to only half the thickness assumed in von Gerkan's drawing; but any thought that they would thereby become so fragile that they could not have been cut or fixed in place is belied if not by the patched hand of the flute-player and the patched toes of the right-hand attendant, then by all the skillful technique of Greek statuary. It is not surprising that these attached bits of marble have been torn away and been lost; but their original existence seems certain. The real problem is to discover why these angle-pieces were made separately, when they might have been carved (as in the Counterpart) out of the same block of marble as the rest of the monument.

Before proceeding, it would be well to recapitulate sufficiently to make it clear that for each of the four triangular fields at the corners a perfectly definite distinction has been drawn by us between the field as it was first prepared (leaving the figured relief intact) and the field as it was afterwards recut (at a deeper level of the stone and with boundaries enlarged so as to destroy certain portions of the figured relief). We shall speak of the original field and the final field, intending by these terms to maintain most scrupulously the indicated distinction.

As we have seen, the original field has nowhere been preserved (except for the three regions to be mentioned below), but it may be recovered by making allowance for a slight lowering of its level on the right wing (the incense-burner). Examining its outline, we shall note especially its sharply curved top and the narrowness of its upper end. For any early Greek relief, symmetry is a pardonable presumption. Making such a presumption, we may test its consequences by superimposing the profile of our sole surviving original field, either directly or in mirror-image reverse, upon each of the three other fields (which, it will be remembered, show only their final form). Our applied outline infringes still further upon the main relief in front; but when superimposed in reverse on the left wing (PL. 18, the flute-player) it not merely falls well within the final field, but leaves outside of its curve precisely the area needed to restore the mutilated cushion to its

<sup>1</sup> Denied by von Gerkan, *Jhf.* 1929, 140; but in my opinion the objection, which goes back to Studniczka, must be sustained.

<sup>2</sup> *Jhf.* 1929, p. 145, fig. 57.



proper form. We conclude that, in the original intention and hence for the original fields, the two wings were cut to permit symmetrically identical ornaments; but that the ornaments intended for the front were to occupy slightly smaller fields with slightly sharper curvature<sup>1</sup>.

Our presumption of a symmetrical intent now leads us into apparent difficulty. Can we assume that the original intention envisaged symmetrical ornaments for the two wings, but that the final execution did not? How could the final ornament applied on the enlarged field beneath the flute-player have corresponded to that finally applied to the unaltered and much narrower field beneath the incense-burner? Anyone will see at a glance (PL. 18) that the shape of the two beds is altogether different. We are entitled to reverse our experiment and apply the outline of the final field beneath the flute-player in mirror-image to the corner of the opposing wing beneath the incense-burner. By doing so, we shall find that this outline encroaches violently on the upper back portion of the cushion and to a negligible extent also beneath the sandal<sup>2</sup> and on the base of the incense-standard. But, as we have already discovered, it is precisely this portion of the cushion which has been worked down to the same surface as the adjacent ornamental ground; and as the figure's sandal has been trimmed and the left-hand curve of the censer base does not project beyond this same plane, we are entitled to conclude that an identical pendant to the ornament on the left wing was actually installed upon the right wing, overlapping and thus hiding from view a fairly large bit of cushion and a very small bit beneath the sandal and on the censer base. The relief was not mutilated on the right wing, but was allowed to preserve its original detail, for the sufficient reason that it was possible to set the ornament without such mutilation.

On the front, the original shape of the field can be approximately recovered by restoring the missing parts of the feet and pendent ends of drapery; but the result can only be approximate and will prove hardly more than that the curve must have been somewhat steeper and sharper than on the wings. But this result is enough to suggest that the diagonal view of either of the corners would have been very awkward if such a geometrically symmetrical and formal design as the adjoining spirals of the Boston Counterpart had been contemplated in the original decorative scheme. For this reason von Gerkan's brilliant suggestion for the design of the original bronze ornament<sup>3</sup> (which he would however apply to the sunken beds) may not be practicable, because the respond on the front panel would have to be considerably modified to fit the field. For the original adornment of the throne it may be necessary to imagine some freer design of small terminal spirals above a floral or vegetabilian motive, in any case worked in bronze and intended to be pinned in place and gilded.

It should be noted that the original field survives in three places where it has not been cut into for the final field, namely, under the feet of the flute-player, under the base of the censer (damaged), and under the pendent cloth in front, and that in all three places it forms a strip of different width, *i. e.*  $1\frac{3}{8}$ ,  $\frac{3}{4}$ , and  $\frac{5}{8}$  inches respectively<sup>4</sup>. This discrepancy is of no importance in itself, but certainly implies that the original ornament was intended not to extend as far as these three regions, but to stop nearer the corners from which it originated, since otherwise the ornaments themselves would have been obliged to assume these discrepant dimensions. These strips of the original field are therefore perfectly neutral as far as any pictorial intention is concerned; they are not part of the pictured reliefs, and in terms of these pictures they are nothing at all. Although the cushions follow the swinging curve of the ornamental fields, this border-line has no more content or meaning than would the frame of a picture. The flute-player and the incense-burner put their feet upon it; but strictly it is neither footstool, floor, nor earth: it is merely the boundary at which the picture-world ceases. In front, the original field narrowed under the stony ground until nothing was left but a thin border beneath the extended feet of the attendants and the cloth suspended between them. Though one of them now (and originally the other also) puts a foot upon it, it is strictly neither floor nor earth —

<sup>1</sup> This is certainly an unexpected result, but I do not see how to interpret the evidence in any other way. Even on the Counterpart the ornaments on the front are not of identical length with those on the wings.

<sup>2</sup> *I. e.* for just that part of the thickness of the sandal's sole which has been trimmed away. The original thick-

ness of the sole survives close against the censer base or may be inferred from the sandals on the Counterpart.

<sup>3</sup> *Jhf.* 1929, p. 144, fig. 56.

<sup>4</sup> Or m. .035, .020, and .016-.020 on von Gerkan's measured drawings, *Jhf.* 1929, p. 132f.



nor yet surface of the sea: it does not exist for the picture, since it is not part of it in any sense except in the sense in which a frame belongs to that which it encloses. The stony slopes on either side must have ended originally with just such a bounding edge or groove as still survives beneath the incense-burner. These stony slopes existed in the picture only in order to justify the raised back foot of the attendants, which in turn was an incident of the pose occasioned by the shape of the relief after the ornamental field had encroached upon it. Such partial and sporadic materialisations of the inanimate environment are fundamentally typical of fifth century Greek sculpture. On the Parthenon frieze there are neither streets nor houses nor other material setting to the great Panathenaic procession; yet wherever a pose, such as the tying of a raised boot or the restraining of an unruly cow, demands it, there suddenly materialises out of nowhere a convenient block of stone on which the foot may be supported. In Greek art, at the moment that a pose threatens to be unintelligible or ridiculous without its proper material context, that context is supplied, with the greatest indifference to any further environment or setting. The rest of the landscape, having no human function, conveniently fails to appear on the scene. In precisely the same manner and for the same reason that the wing-figures have cushions to sit on, the attendants have a sloping support of stones to stand on. Although it is not clearly apparent in a photograph, the stony ground is not all carved in the same relief level, but gathers itself into a sharply salient mass under the ball of the foot on the left and under the toe of the foot on the right, in order to emphasise this function of material support for the sculptural pose. Just as the cushions terminate without further explanation, so the stony slopes cease abruptly. Below them, and below the extended feet of the two standing maidens, there was merely the blank ornamental field which, in terms of the pictorial representation, had no significance and was nothing at all.

After these fields were recut and sunk below the original surface of the marble, a new impression (at least for modern eyes) was accidentally engendered. The strip of blank field running along the bottom of the front relief now stood out like a flat moulding or taenia, as though it were something specially designed, something of significance for the pictured representation, on the same level of actuality as the stone beneath the attendant's feet. Hence it has seemed to modern eyes that these attendants are standing on twin rocky slopes which descend to a central level surface; and as such a phenomenon occurs in nature only where shores descend to the even level of a waterflood, modern minds have insisted that the central figure is partially immersed in a spring or river or lake or sea. They should have been put on their guard by noticing that the attendant on the left poses with her toes upon this "water" with the same assurance that the flute-player puts her foot flat upon the ground. If only we will undo in our minds the damage done by sinking the ornamental field deep into the relief and thus destroying its original surface, of which this fancied water-line is only the level continuation, we shall see that there is no water here, that there is in fact nothing here at all, pictorially speaking, and that the rocky slopes imply nothing whatever as to the character of the material world where the cloth hangs suspended<sup>1</sup>. But before we press this brief advantage toward an interpretation of the central scene, the less popular topic of technical investigation must be allowed to run its intricate career.

At this point the reader should consult a copy of the *Jahrbuch des k. deutschen archäologischen Instituts*, Vol. XXVI, for 1911, and turn to pages 76-7, 144-5, and 148-9, where he will find conveniently set on opposing pages the photographs of the Leipzig casts of the completely restored Boston Counterpart and Ludovisi Throne. Examining these, it is possible that he will wish that the plaster doves would yield to their obvious desire for flight; but such details are immaterial, since the real point at issue is the adoption of the Boston volutes and palmettes to complete the monument in Rome. On the Counterpart these ornaments belong integrally

<sup>1</sup> A very subtle point, which I almost despair of making clear, will perhaps be apprehended by consulting v. Gerkan's drawing *Jhf.* 1929 p. 132 fig. 51a and his comment on p. 140. The taenia below the cloth is broader at its left end than anywhere else; but if the left ornamental field had been cut to the same length as the right, this broader end of the taenia would have been removed and the taenia would throughout have been level and of equal width. But conversely, if the right ornamental field had not been cut so long, but left of the same length as the left, the taenia would then have

broadened out at both ends. This sounds very mysterious, but merely means that the taenia is no taenia at all, but that the original ground curved down symmetrically from right and from left and was left level and uniform for a short central stretch. Owing to the failure of the "taenia" to center accurately on the monument, a small part of the rise of the curving field has survived on the left. Originally, the "water-line" curved up uniformly right and left under the feet of the attendants; it was therefore no "water-line" at all.



to the composition; when applied to the Ludovisi Throne, they project emptily and irrationally beyond the figured scene. The flute-player and the incense-burner lean back, yet fail to touch or utilise the proffered support, whereas the lyre-player and the old woman in Boston fit themselves snugly to the ornamental frame. But it is the main scene which is the most disconcerting, since the exquisite centripetal balance of its figured composition is nullified and destroyed. We cannot argue that the Ludovisi Throne was never forced into so irrelevant an architectural setting; but it is fairly safe to say that when the central relief was composed, it was never intended for such a setting.

In Caskey's *Catalogue of Greek and Roman Sculpture* in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, there is included a table of measurements (reprinted below, on page 49) in which the dimensions of our two monuments are compared; and this comparison is further illuminated<sup>1</sup> by a diagram of the superimposed outlines of the façades. From the table of measurements it will be observed that on the Ludovisi Throne the outside bottom width of the front (m. 1.42) is almost precisely double the outside bottom width of the two identical wings (m. 0.705)<sup>2</sup>. I cannot believe that this is a coincidence in a fifth-century monument: it must be indicative of an original intention. However, there is no comparable relationship between front and sides in the Boston Counterpart, wherein the only preserved wing (the lyre-player) agrees almost exactly<sup>3</sup> with the Ludovisi Throne, but the front is considerably wider (m. 1.61).

It has often been remarked that if the two monuments are set back to back, with their open ends together, the nude flute-player will adjoin and face the nude lyre-player and the heavily draped incense-burner will adjoin and face the heavily draped old woman. But the correspondence is even more far-reaching. The two nudes both extend their feet to the edge of the stone; but the incense-burner draws hers back to leave room for an upright accessory, the incense-standard, and precisely the same composition must have obtained for her *vis-à-vis*, because the ornament which runs beneath her demands completion and the wing must consequently have had the same size and extent as the other three. When this wing of the Counterpart was mutilated — perhaps trimmed down after an injury in transport? — the remnant of the left hand and the traces of the object in the right hand were chiseled away. Had this object still been complete, it would probably have been allowed to remain; it was the irrationality of the remnant which occasioned its removal. Hence it must have extended into the missing narrow vertical space in front of the old woman, whose feet were drawn back to give it room<sup>4</sup>. The balance with the wings of the Ludovisi Throne was therefore very marked. Yet such a balance would have no purpose if it remained unseen and unapprehended. There must therefore be very great weight to the argument which insists on combining both reliefs in a single architectural whole.

But is such a combination technically possible in view of the discrepancies in the relative dimensions displayed in Caskey's table? The great difference in the width of the two marbles (m. 1.61 *vs.* m. 1.42 = m. 0.19 or nearly 8 inches) would be an absolutely fatal objection, were it not for the Leipzig experiment of adding the Boston ornaments to the Ludovisi Throne. With these attached, the width of the two can be brought to an almost absolute agreement.

Another extraordinary correspondence has not been very generally emphasised. It would naturally be expected that if the outside bottom width of the two monuments (which would be the vital measurement for any attachment to a common base or podium) can be made to agree only by this rather forced external addition of corner ornaments, the inside measurements of the two monuments would still disagree by roughly the amount of this accretion. But this is not the case. The inside bottom widths of the two agree within two inches, instead of within the eight anticipated (m. 1.14 *vs.* m. 1.09). Measured at the top of the inside faces, even this discrepancy disappears, inasmuch as the opening between them at this level has been made still

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> Before the angles were cut down to receive their ornaments, the measurements would have read m. 1.45 and m. 0.73, exhibiting the same intended *symmetria*.

<sup>3</sup> It agrees *precisely* with the wing of the Throne before the angles were cut down.

<sup>4</sup> The old woman's knees are drawn back much more sharply than the incense-burner's, just as the lyre-player sits

more erect than the flute-girl; but I take these changes to be due to the desire of the artist of the Counterpart to unite his figures more intimately and more realistically with the ornaments. The argument is that the compositional elements correspond so closely, that some vertical accessory comparable to the incense-standard is demanded to fill the space in front of the old woman.



narrower<sup>1</sup>. The material or physical explanation is sufficiently apparent: the Boston throne must have been cut from a much thicker piece of marble. But immediately the teleological question arises whether this could be purely accidental or whether it was not done on purpose in order to produce an approximately identical internal opening in spite of the difference of the outside measurement.

Each observer must evaluate this evidence to his own satisfaction, remembering, however, that too many coincidences are no longer mere coincidences, but demand some appropriate explanation. The only such explanation which carries any conviction will postulate that (1) the Ludovisi Throne was carved with the intention of applying close-fitting ornaments to its corners; (2) a different use was made of the Throne, involving a slightly wider front and the creation of a counterpart relief; (3) new corner-ornaments were cut on separate angle-pieces of marble and attached to the extant reliefs of the Throne, so as to produce the requisite new base-measurement; (4) the new counterpart was carefully constructed to combine all the necessary requirements, *viz.* (a) the new external base-measurement, (b) the same internal opening, (c) the same angle-ornaments but this time integrated with the figured carving, (d) a suitable correspondence in the subject-matter of the figured reliefs themselves. Minor discrepancies were indifferent or had to be endured. For example, it was possible to widen the Ludovisi Throne at the base (by adding ornaments) and to carve the Counterpart to match; but there was no possibility of widening the outside dimensions of the Throne at the top also, nor could the Counterpart be narrowed sufficiently to match, without disaster to the compositional effect. We may infer that minor disagreements which did not involve any architectural adjustments but remained a mere matter of eye, did not seriously disturb the makers of these monuments, since the front panel of the Ludovisi Throne has been left an inch higher at the right upper corner than on the left, in order to accommodate the more erect pose of the incense-burner around the corner on the wing.

The essential element in this hypothesis is the assumption that the Ludovisi Throne, already carved, was adjusted to a novel situation, while the Boston Counterpart was cut specifically to meet all the requirements of this same novel situation. If this hypothesis can be accepted, two interesting deductions immediately result. The first is the later date (by however much or little!) of the Counterpart; the second is the unimpugnable authenticity of the Counterpart as an ancient work of art<sup>2</sup>. In addition the hypothesis gives us a simple explanation of the mutilation of the Throne.

In adapting this to its new function, the technical problem was the addition of two angle-pieces of marble which should each add m. .095 (or a scant four inches) to the over-all base dimension of the monument. Obviously each angle-piece would be made by cutting down a solid block to leave two right-angled arms of the requisite thickness. On the face of each of these arms a symmetrical scroll and palmette design would be carved. But when these angle-blocks were fitted against the Ludovisi reliefs an awkward situation immediately arose. The main panel of the Throne is carved with its frontal relief plane vertical but its background plane receding inward as it rises, as may be seen in profile on PLATE 18. It is not obvious why this was done (except that the monument was intended to batter); but the resulting heightening of the relief toward the central triangle of the three heads is not the least of its secret sources of magnetic power. But technically this led to the inconvenient result that the new angle ornaments touched the blank field of the relief (the original ornamental field) only at the bottom. The inner face of each angle ornament could have been tapered and ground to fit this slanting surface; but the readier way was to cut a level bed for it, such as we actually find on the Throne as we see it to-day. In the Leipzig restoration<sup>3</sup> we can see how awkwardly the returning shelf of the curving ornament projects forward from the relief-field and how natural it was to seek to sink this shelf as deep as possible under the two standing figures. We shall have the secret of the whole situation if we ask ourselves why the shelf could not have been buried entirely into the face of the relief, so as to leave the attendants' feet flush with its outer edge. There would be no visible objection or obstacle on the front; but there would have been a decided repercussion in the wings. For the farther the angle-

<sup>1</sup> *I. e.* the inside faces of the wings of the Throne are cut vertically plumb, or nearly so, while those of the Counterpart converge.

<sup>2</sup> I confess that as a very young student of Greek sculpture I once believed the Counterpart a forgery. *Peccavi!* Quite apart from the formal proof here offered for its authen-

ticity, I can only urge after years of affectionate interest in the monument that all of the admitted or suspected forgers of modern times would be the merest tyros in comparison with the master of the Counterpart, who has not yet been convicted of the smallest archaeological slip or fault!

<sup>3</sup> *Jhb.* xxvi (1911), p. 77, fig. 17.



pieces were bedded into the front panel, the farther their other arms would be moved along the face of the wings, thereby more and more obscuring whatever carving those wings possessed. Another equivalent device for lessening the unwelcome projection of the shelf of the attached ornaments would be to trim away the inside faces of the angle arms against the front panel, so as to make the marble thinner; but the result would still be the same for the arms around the corner, which again would be thereby moved farther along the face of the wings so as to overlap and obscure the wing reliefs. We have already seen the evidence for the actual occurrence of such a casualty: a considerable portion of the cushion beneath the flute-player has been cut away to make room for the volute of the angle ornament. On the opposite wing there is less evidence, since the ornament was merely slid into place over the carved cushion behind the incense-burner, without actually destroying it to provide a bed. If we use the Boston Counterpart for our model, we can figure from the size of the cutting behind the cushion of the flute-player that the m. .095 originally assumed as the thickness of the front arm of the angle ornament has here been reduced to m. .045. Since this was bedded m. .025 beneath the surface of the front relief where the cutting is deepest at the base of the monument beneath the attendant's foot, the shelf at this point would have projected only m. .02 in front of the relief<sup>1</sup>, thus almost eliminating the unpleasant effect so apparent in the Leipzig restoration, which seems to be at fault in this respect.

It was not possible to achieve a similarly satisfactory result for the wings. For if the bed behind the flute-girl's cushion had been sunk deeper into the stone, so as to bring the face of the ornament closer to the general plane of the relief, the other arm of the angle-piece would inexorably have been moved an identical distance nearer toward the central axis of the front panel, invading and destroying the relief as it moved. The artisan cut as deep as he dared, even to the extent of destroying a piece of the heel and instep of the left-hand attendant. On the other wing, nothing could be done at all. Owing to a slight asymmetry in the composition, the foot of the right-hand attendant was so placed that the front arm of the angle-ornament on this corner cut into it severely in any case. If a bed had been prepared behind the incense-burner and the angle-ornament been set back or sunken into it, the other arm around the corner would have obliterated the already damaged foot of the attendant. This is the reason why the original field was left so nearly intact on the right wing behind the incense-burner: the relief on the front panel would not permit any further encroachment. Hence on this wing the angle-arm bearing the ornament had to be left in its full thickness of m. .095 and by just that amount projected out from the relief which it was intended to adorn. On the opposite wing with the flute-player, a sinking of nearly 2 cm. was possible, and this reduced the projection of the shelf by that amount from m. .095 to m. .075.

I fear that, with the best intentions, this discussion must remain hopelessly obscure; but if any one will examine the corners of the Ludovisi Throne (Pls. 18 and 19) and observe how markedly the beds of the ornamental fields differ in shape and in depth of cutting, he will perhaps be ready to admit that the added angle-ornaments could hardly have produced an effect of perfect symmetry. He may be tempted to conclude from the variety in these cuttings that the ornaments themselves were unsymmetrical; but this would be a wrong conclusion. They were all four exactly alike (except for their inevitable mirror-image reversals); but when finally placed, they did not all lie alike with reference to the surface of the reliefs which they adorned. The ornament on the right wing projected nearly four inches above the relief, that on the left wing three inches, those on the front projected only slightly at their upper portion and lay almost flush with the relief at the bottom.

As a result of these inequalities, the ornament on the left of the front panel now threatened to come closer to the central axis of the composition than its fellow on the right, with the result that the apparent center of the monument (*i. e.* the vertical axis on the mid-point of the base-line after the angle ornaments had been added) would have been displaced toward the right and no longer agreed with the central figural axis. Whoever cares to measure even a small photograph of the birth-scene, will discover that the central axis (if erected on the mid-point between the corners of the marble) signally fails to run where it should. But this error was corrected by prolonging the ornament on the right and deliberately making it longer than

<sup>1</sup> — which is just about the amount of projection of the ornaments on the Counterpart.



its fellow on the left. If the central point of the "taenia" (of course, allowing for its injured right-hand corner) be plotted on a photograph, it will be found to lie on the true axis of the carved central figure<sup>1</sup>.

It is thus perfectly apparent that the artisan who added the ornaments to the Throne ran into serious difficulties, from which he extricated himself not too happily.

I confess that Studniczka's Leipzig restoration, with the palmettes projecting like ears on either side of the front panel and the "shelf" of the scroll protruding forward beyond the sculpture, has for years filled me with misgivings. But if this shelf can be almost eliminated from the front panel, and the volute and palmette be brought closer to both the flute-player and the incense-burner in the side views (which is all interinvolved in the same process of moving the ornament closer to the plane of the main relief), and if it be understood that this inorganic ornamentation does not represent the original intention, but an adaptation to a new use, the objections to the Leipzig restoration lose most of their force.

Before finally leaving this intricate world of technical speculation, we must cast a last glance at Caskey's table of discrepancies between the critical dimensions of the two monuments. For convenience, we reprint it here *in toto*, adding running numbers to the items:

	Boston	Rome	Variation
(1) Width of front at bottom, outside . . . . .	1.61 m.	1.42 m.	+ 0.19 m.
(2) » » » » top, » . . . . .	1.42	1.33	+ 0.09
(3) » » » » bottom, inside . . . . .	1.14	1.09	+ 0.05
(4) » » » » top, » . . . . .	1.085	1.10	- 0.015
(5) » » right wing at bottom, outside . . . . .	0.73	0.705	+ 0.025
(6) » » left » » » » » . . . . .	0.55	0.705	- 0.155
(7) Height of front at right corner . . . . .	0.82	0.86	- 0.04
(8) » » » » left » . . . . .	0.82	0.835	- 0.015
(9) » » » » centre . . . . .	0.96	1.03 <sup>2</sup>	- 0.07
(10) Thickness of front and sides at bottom . . . . .	0.23	0.175	+ 0.055
(11) » » » » at top . . . . .	0.165	0.12	+ 0.045
(12) » » right wing at top . . . . .	0.155	0.115	+ 0.04
(13) » » left » » » » » . . . . .	0.165	0.115	+ 0.05
(14) Average height of relief . . . . .	0.08	0.06	+ 0.02

By the addition to the Throne of corner ornaments like those on the Counterpart, in the manner of the Leipzig restoration<sup>3</sup>, the discrepancy in Item (1) vanishes. The discrepancy in Item (2) results from the peculiar circumstances of the case and could not be altered. The discrepancy in Item (3) may be thought serious; but the inside width at the bottom within the shelter of the wings is an invisible dimension. The inside faces of the wings of the Counterpart taper inward (unlike those of the Throne), so that, by the time their sloping tops are reached, the open distance between the wings is identical in the two monuments. A little higher still, close under the apex of the front, the Counterpart has even narrowed to a slightly smaller opening than the Throne<sup>4</sup>, and it is here that the measurements for Item (4) are taken. If the original Throne, before it was cut down for the ornaments, were taken for a basis of measurement, the discrepancy in Item (5) would vanish completely. Item (6) is irrelevant, because the left wing of the Counterpart is no longer intact. Item (7) is a discrepancy within the Throne itself, due to the need of slightly more head-room for the incense-burner. Item (8) shows the significant comparison between the two monuments and reveals only a negligible discrepancy. Item (9) is an unknown factor, since the peak of the main relief of the Throne is missing and its ornamental treatment unknown<sup>5</sup>. The remaining items show the existence of considerable

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps a simpler way of stating the case would be to remark that the "taenia" is centered on the composition, but not on the monument. Hence the distances from the ends of the "taenia" to the corners of the marble have to be unequal, and consequently the two ornaments cannot have been identical opposites. Von Gerkan's *die mittlere Leiste . . . weil sie nicht in der Mitte der Front und der Komposition sitzt* (p. 140) and his *unsymmetrische Lage der nach links verschobenen Leiste* (p. 144) miss the compositional subtlety.

<sup>2</sup> Estimated.

<sup>3</sup> I have never seen or measured the Leipzig restored

cast, but calculate from the monuments themselves that if the Counterpart ornaments were fitted to the prepared bed on the Throne, the new front over-all should measure ca. m. 1.615. Caskey's 1.42 m. should read with v. Gerkan 1.404 m.

<sup>4</sup> Denied by v. Gerkan, who makes the two monuments practically identical (m. 1.097 vs. 1.100) at this point.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. v. GERKAN, *Jhf.* 1929, 138: *Jede noch so kleine Unregelmässigkeit in der Neigung würde dieses Mass schon wesentlich ändern. Auch hier muss, angesichts des Fehlens jeglicher Profile, angenommen werden, dass die Giebelform keine eigene tektonische Bedeutung hatte, sondern nur dem Umriss der Komposition folgte.*



discrepancies; but these are essentially the result of adjusting the Counterpart to the two crucial dimensions of the Throne shown in Items (1) and (4). The existence of these discrepancies is essential to our hypothesis, which they support rather than disprove.

At first glance, the table seemed to exclude any possibility that the two monuments formed part of a single architectural whole. On closer examination there is internal evidence to suggest that a correspondence in certain essential dimensions has been very definitely desired and very carefully attained. The Throne was widened by the addition of angle-ornaments, with a result not too satisfactory to modern taste nor yet apparently to ancient; for when the new member, the Counterpart, was designed, it succeeded in avoiding precisely those effects at which modern taste takes umbrage. In the Counterpart the angle-ornaments no longer project inorganically from the pictured representation, but are integrally combined so as to become a genuine part of that representation. The ornaments have become every whit as actual a piece of furniture to support the seated figures as are the cushions. The Counterpart thus exhibits the successful solution of an artistic problem which the master of the Throne could not solve because it did not arise until after he had carved his relief.

The later date of the Counterpart follows from the hypothesis here developed, but no precise interval of time is specified. As far as this argument can tell us, the Throne might have waited many years before the rise of the new project to make it part of a larger whole. Yet there are other reasons why such a supposition is not probable, firstly, because the original narrower angle-ornaments seem never to have been attached (unless perhaps they were merely carved in the lowest possible relief and then painted?) and secondly, because the approximate date of the Counterpart seems established on stylistic grounds. The occurrence of the drapery loops which professional jargon calls "eye-folds", the reminiscence of the "Penelope" motif in the despondent woman on the front panel, the resemblance of the lyre-player to certain red-figure vase designs and of the old woman to the nurse of the Pistoxenos cup<sup>1</sup> all combine to assign the Counterpart to the developed Transitional Period, at most only about a decade later than the Throne. Those critics who assert that the two monuments cannot be by the same hand seem to me in the right; while those who deny that they can belong to even approximately the same period and school seem to me in the wrong. In any event, the authenticity and the Greek origin of the Counterpart should not be called in question.

I have no intention of polemicizing against von Gerkan's admirable investigation, which marks the high point of technical comprehension of the two monuments; but since his observations have led him to infer that the Boston marble is a forgery, it becomes a counter-obligation to show how, on the present hypothesis of an ancient re-use of the Throne together with a counterpart expressly created for the purpose, these indications of forgery are dispelled.

On page 162 of the *Jahreshefte* for 1929 the *Verdachtsmomente gegen B[oston]* are listed. These are here reproduced with comments relevant to the present findings and the immediate issue:

(1) *Unregelmässigkeit der Grundform*. This is uniquely due to the addition of marble angle-pieces to L[udovisi] in place of the bronze ornaments originally intended, and the creation of a counterpart in one solid piece to agree with the expanded Throne. A forger who foresaw all the resultant complications would have been archaeologically *plus royaliste que le roi*.

(2) *Fehlen von metrologischen Beziehungen*. Denied, and discussed below.

(3) *Sinnlosigkeit der Gestaltung der oberen Ränder*. No reply suggested; but what inference is to be drawn? It would have been very easy for a forger to copy the Throne exactly in all such technical details. Their present condition of preservation suggests that neither of the monuments stood very long unsheltered out of doors; consequently rain-shedding may not be the pertinent criterion here. Until one knows what the monuments were for, it is not certain that we can judge of "Sinnlosigkeit".

(4) *Genaue Uebereinstimmung der Akroterien, i. e. angle-ornaments on B*. Ancient sculptor and modern forger alike would have cut such palmettes and volutes from a pattern, since they are extremely intricate and could easily have occasioned disaster. It is not true, however, that they are *nach einer Schablone durchgezeichnet*, and von Gerkan himself mentions some of the typically Greek free-hand variations (p. 157).

(5) *Fehlen der Anathyrose am Unterlager*: Its mutilation on L shows that there it was cut for the original use of the Throne. It was never expanded later, and hence does not force us to conclude the use of anathyrosis in the final adaptation. The absence of anathyrosis on B thus does no more than match the apparent lack of interest in it for the final setting of L.

(6) *Fehlen einer Fussleiste unter dem Eros*. Our compliments to the "forger" for having understood that the strip under the front panel of the Throne was *not* a *Fussleiste*! But to assume that the "forger" was more astute than von Gerkan is an intolerable act. We have already indicated that the "forger" has been more correct than the archaeologists in figuring the exact projection of the ornaments beyond the ground.

<sup>1</sup> I do not pursue these parallels nor document them, since the Counterpart is a *παράγραφον* to the present study.



Subjective impressions may have a doubtful positive value; yet most students might agree that a Roman forger in the 1890's could hardly have refrained from carving a "*Fussleiste*" under the Eros or from setting the ornamental scrolls flush with it. That he could have invented the magnificent angle-ornaments and constructed them of precisely the right form and size to explain the extremely intricate bed-cuttings on the Throne, seems to me beyond all plausibility. I know only one archaeologist capable of figuring out all these niceties, — and I know that he did not help forge the Counterpart!

Even in archaeology, fashions change. Three generations ago, sculptural marble was most confidently assigned to its parent quarry; two generations ago, statues were minutely measured to discover their canons of proportion; one generation ago, all architectural measurements were converted into their equivalents in ancient feet, which sometimes proved to be of surprising variety and elasticity. Today, all these "scientific" procedures are rather generally admitted to be unsafe bases for induction and argument. Hence the Counterpart cannot be convicted of modernity just because it resists reduction to "long Samian feet" which seem to fit the main measurements of the Throne. Yet surely, it must have been the *untrimmed* Throne which was originally measured by its Greek maker, so that even the Samian foot will not after all account for it or confer on it any special status. If von Gerkan's own careful measurements for the Boston Counterpart be taken and the ordinary Attic foot of m. .328 be applied to them, it will be found that the results are every bit as satisfactory as his metrological conversions of the Throne. By such a criterion the Counterpart should be every whit as ancient and authentic as the Throne. But when one observes that, on both these marbles, dimensions which patently ought to correspond between right wing and left agree only very roughly, one is well advised to doubt the archaeological value of such metrological proofs, however ingenious their arithmetic, since their cardinal assumption that ancient sculptors had in their possession mechanically accurate foot-rules and felt any compulsion to adhere closely to their measurements has nothing concrete or demonstrable to recommend it. The critical margin of error is only too apt to exceed the available minimum unit of measurement, in any event; so that the possibility of a formal proof is logically absent.

If the Counterpart strictly deserves its title, because specifically made to accompany and supplement the Throne, its reliefs may most readily find an interpretation as intentional *pendants*, whereas those of the Throne must be capable of an independent explanation. Thus, the flute-player and the incense-burner should bear some direct reference to the main scene on the front of the Throne, whereas the lyre-player and the old woman need have no comparable intimate connection with the *psychostasia* of the Counterpart, because the nude lyre-player may be nothing but a *respond* to the nude flute-player, and the draped old woman a *respond* to the draped and matronly incense-burner. But by this same argument, the *psychostasia* should be the *respond* to the "birth" scene of the Throne.

Perhaps all these technical explorations are at best only what they seem, — observations on purely mechanical questions without further reference or value. Yet, on a subject where so much has been said and so widespread interest has been aroused, even the smallest observation with any possible bearing on the interpretation of these reliefs must be pressed for its contribution. And therefore, with our preliminary observations completed and with some trepidation, we are at last ready to enter the Joust Perilous, wherein so many archaeological knights have lost more spurs than they have won. What purpose and what meaning have the six carven scenes which adorn the Ludovisi Throne in Rome and its Counterpart in Boston?

The only interpretation of the main relief of the Throne which has had any permanent popularity or even made any general appeal was promptly advanced and is even now still stoutly maintained. Redolent of poetry, romance, and Botticelli, "The Birth of Venus" was apparently as inevitable a title for the modern mind as it seemed obvious to the unschooled modern eye. Yet it must in reality remain extremely dubious whether such an interpretation would have occurred to a single one of the Greek contemporaries of the artist who designed and carved the relief. They had not grown up on Botticelli, but on the *Homeric Hymn*, —

"I will sing of Aphrodite, the chaste, the gold-filleted, the fair,  
Who for domain hath the citadels of seagirt Cyprus,  
Whither the moist might of the blowing Westwind brought her  
Along the wave of the sounding sea, in the soft sea-foam.  
Gladly received her the Seasons, with their head-dresses of gold;  
Immortal raiment they set about her, and on her deathless head  
They put a golden headband, finely chased and fair;  
In the pierced lobes of her ears, a floweret of orichalk and costly gold  
And about her tender neck and her white-shining breasts  
Arrayed they golden necklaces, even such as do adorn  
Themselves, the golden-banded Seasons, when forth they fare  
To the dancings of the gods in the Chambers of their Sire.  
But when upon her body they had set these jewels all,  
To the immortal gods they led her...."

No one knows the date of this *Hymn to Aphrodite*; but it has the lushness of Stesichorean song about it, and the richness of archaic art. One may venture to ascribe it to the sixth century and to believe that



it was well enough known to have been present in the mind of anyone who set himself to illustrate the legend of Aphrodite's birth. It is not a good description of the Ludovisi Throne.

In Greek mythological tradition, Aphrodite does not rise up from underneath the sea, but is begotten and formed in the foam upon its surface; and bedded in this foam, as a mariner reclining in his wind-born boat, she sails eastward to Cyprus and, as from a grounding ship, steps naked ashore, to be dressed and adorned by the waiting spirits of the Spring. Nowhere is the event so fully described as I have just described it; but if a Greek were pressed to tell us his visualised fancy, it would have to be in such terms of the drifting foaming surface that he would speak. And it is almost in as vividly specific terms that the *Homeric Hymn* presents the scene in the passage just transcribed.

It is a travesty of such a legend to imagine that two Horai with naked feet and loosely-girt single gowns would catch the goddess beneath her arm-pits to haul her up out of the water. It is a travesty of such a legend to have them hold a woolen blanket in front of her, since even if this were to be wrapped as a himation about her chitoned form, every Greek would have known that a himation is put on from in back, not from in front, of its wearer. On page 111 of the *Jahrbuch* for 1911, Studniczka reproduces a hydria in Genoa on which a woman in chiton, with loose hair held only by a wreath, is emerging from the ground — in short, a striking parallel to our relief. She is being received by two figures who are offering her clothing; one *from behind* is preparing to put a himation around her back and shoulders, the other from in front holds out a headband in which to tie up her hanging hair. The himation is carefully characterised to look like a garment. The attendants do not touch the person whom they are dressing. I further quote for what it may be worth (and not merely because it is diverting) Svoronos' caustic sally against the usual interpretation of the relief:

*"Il m'était... impossible de comprendre les plus acceptées des explications, celles de Petersen et de Studniczka qui, pour la première fois au monde, nous présentaient un enfant sortant en chemise des entrailles de sa mère! Aphrodite, qui ne portait pas de chemise au moment où tout le monde en porte, devait en porter une au moment où personne n'en portait et ne peut en porter!"*<sup>1</sup>

Early art, when attempting a narrative theme and the illustration of an event such as can equally well be recounted in words, is extremely concerned to include every element essential to the story. This it does in direct visual terms wherever possible; if the fully realistic representation is beyond its resources, it turns to schematic images; where even these are too difficult, it takes refuge in some intelligible visual symbol. It is a mistake to imagine that early art is symbolic by choice; it is symbolic by technical compulsion and necessity. But it would far rather be symbolic than omit the details of a narrative. In the Selinus metope of Europa, the bull bends his knees to show that he is swimming, and a fish is carved underneath his body to show that it is truly water in which this action is performed. The act of swimming is shown schematically; the water is introduced merely by an intelligible symbol. But in the Ludovisi relief we are asked to believe that there is sea, not because there is any indication of water or any symbolic label or legend, but because there is shoreland, and that there is shoreland because there are loose stones under the raised foot (not feet!) of each of the attendant maidens. Where this sea should be, there is a carefully cut base-line on which the other foot of each of these attendants originally rested with even greater weight than on the rocky ground. We have seen that in the original state of the relief this taenia or base-line was nothing but the continuation of the blank ornamental field; if the attendants each set one foot upon it, they do so by the same convention and with the same right as the lyre-player or the incense-burner, whose feet find exactly this same support. This cannot therefore be water, but only ground, conceived in the vaguest terms as the essential support of any human figure in repose. Besides, there is a perfectly natural convention in early Greek art, adequately illustrated in the Selinus metope of the swimming bull, which treats water as transparent and figures as still visible when immersed. On every account, therefore, no water is intended and no nascent goddess is being dragged out of the sea or held suspended in it. Nor is the argument a whit improved if we substitute for open sea a narrow stream, a lake, a fountain, or a bath-tub. It is not the size of the watery expanse on which the question hinges, but its material element. We must explain the Ludovisi relief without recourse to water in any form.

<sup>1</sup> *Journal International d'Archéologie Numismatique*, XX (1920-21), 109 f.



A much better case can be made for sinking the central figure into earth; for the ground renders invisible to human eyes all that it covers, and it is unobjectionable that the ground-line of a composition should be the earth. But early art does not like to leave its intentions thus in doubt. Why should not the rocky pattern be carried across the center to show its essential continuity or be allowed to swell into a mound, as in the accepted representation of the invulnerable Kaineus being driven into the soil by the centaurs who assail him? The blanket performs a poor service if it thus casts doubt upon the crucial meaning of the scene and its setting. None the less, such scenes as Pandora's birth or the resurrection of an earth-spirit, reproduced from vases in Studniczka's great article on the Boston Counterpart<sup>1</sup>, show that the Greek artist was not averse to cutting half-buried figures at the imagined ground-level. It is only because it seems impossible to reach any really satisfactory conclusion on the meaning of the scene as a whole, that the hypothesis that the figure has her lower limbs underground must be rejected.

For it is a cardinal difficulty that the central figure is neither rising nor sinking, but held as though suspended. Her upraised arms must be seeking support from the shoulders of her attendants (as the Leipzig restoration quite properly decides), and these in turn are not so much lifting as supporting her beneath her armpits. The only similar poses that have been quoted from early Greek art employ this device for the support of a wounded warrior<sup>2</sup>. The central figure on our relief is certainly not wounded, but she is none the less in need of assistance. Her attendants stoop too heavily above her (as the restoration makes clearer than the broken original) not to be drawn downward by her weight. The compositional lines are all pendent, being based on the catenary framed by streaming verticals. There is no ascending or upward movement, only a sagging equilibrium. It would be a severe stricture on the artistic capacity of the designer to assert that this arrangement and this effect are unintentional.

So strong is the gravitational element, it would be more plausible to think that the figure is sinking into the earth. The pose and the linear flow are definitely so much more in harmony with this interpretation that it is surprising that so few commentators have suggested an entombment, a *Grablegung*, rather than an *anodos* or resurrection. It might be thought that the attendants are lowering the figure into a grave and covering her with a shroud. But very probably such an explanation has found so few champions because it is so alien in spirit to the laying-out (*πρόθεσις*) or other customary funeral themes of archaic and fifth century Greek art. Even more decisive is the position of the head of the central figure, with the strong erect neck, the wide-open eyes, the expression of the lips, which may not be easy to interpret, but certainly is not fainting or moribund. There is an enlargement of the head in Studniczka's article<sup>3</sup>, but the face is more of a riddle than Mona Lisa herself, for it does not even smile.

Early art with its narrative earnestness often writes the names beside its characters, but it is still more prone to give them some badge or token in visible terms. The gridiron of St. Lawrence, the tower of Santa Barbara, are precisely comparable to the lion-skin of Herakles, the aegis of Athena. Had the protagonist of the Throne relief been Aphrodite, we should have expected some jewelry carved upon her, a wreath or a necklace or a flower, a more orderly arrangement of her hair. Greek art had abundant devices to make its gods and goddesses apparent to their votaries; and if no mark proclaims her Aphrodite, the chances are very great that she is someone else.

In short, "Aphrodite Rising from the Sea" is an unhappy title on all three counts: there is no sea, she is not rising, and she is not Aphrodite. It would at least be some advance hermeneutically, however purely negative, if we would agree to discard once for all the popular interpretation and all that it betokens or connotes.

Mention has already been made of an Etruscan mirror with a similar composition. Petersen, Marshall, and Studniczka have all compared it to the Ludovisi Throne relief, but not everyone has realised its great importance. Greek art, hardly less than medieval, runs in types and iconographic traditions, so that a good parallel is often the best of clues. And though the mirror is Etruscan, its myth is Greek, its decoration of palmette and ivy vine is Greek, and its fine balance and good drawing bring it close to the formal Greek world, so that its ultimate inspiration may not lie so far afield from that of the Throne. Odysseus und Dio-

<sup>1</sup> *Jhb.* xxvi (1911), pp. 110 f., figs. 38 and 40.

<sup>2</sup> *Jhb.* 1911, p. 104, fig. 33.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the Etruscan mirror illustrated by Studniczka, *Jhb.* 1911, p. 106, fig. 35.



mede support the wounded Amazon queen, Penthesilea, who has sunk to her knees on lightly undulating ground. The heroes grasp her beneath the armpits and lean deeply in above her, so that their heads form the triangle of the Ludovisi relief. More remarkable still, their poses are really the poses of the attendant maidens, with curving back and one foot set behind them on a higher level. So perfectly does the composition fall in the circle of the mirror that, having seen it, one notes with surprise (and probably for the first time) that the Ludovisi relief is really a circular composition, adapted to the irregular field of the Throne. It is the Etruscan mirror which reflects the ultimate and original design, and the Ludovisi relief is not in this respect the leader, but the follower. It is therefore not in the least unlikely that all interpretations of the central figure as partly buried and hidden in the earth are illusions due to the concealing drapery, and that the true motif of the theme is, as on the Etruscan mirror, a kneeling figure. If one thinks that there is not room behind the drapery for the figure to kneel in, that again is an illusion.

But who is the Kneeling Woman? and why must she be thus helped and held? and what purpose has the cloth? One wonders vainly whether every educated Greek of the classical period would have known the answers to these seemingly simple questions, or whether he would have had to turn to some local cicerone for enlightenment.

It is a peculiar service of the ultra-realistic modern archaeological method that it sometimes victimizes its exponent by leading him to disprove his own theorem. Studniczka was persuaded that the cloth in the attendants' hands is nothing but the lower portion of the chiton which the central figure wears. Ungirt, it trailed, sodden with seawater; and the helping handmaidens are lifting it because it is wet and heavy. The artist seems to have done his best to prevent any such interpretation, by sharply distinguishing the light clinging chiton with its vertical lines from the heavy cloth held widespread to a wholly different pattern. Archaic art is perfectly capable of thus changing its schematic forms from sector to sector of the same garment; but the archaic artist is above all anxious to make his drawing intelligible. And the suggestion that the handmaidens are undressing their mistress by thus tugging at her skirt is singularly unattractive. Yet even so, Studniczka might have won adherents to his thesis had he left it merely on the level of verbal disputation and the precarious judgment of modern taste. But such is the thoroughness of archaeological method, especially in Germany, that a chiton was made, a living model was procured, and the end of the garment was held aloft until it assumed the position and showed the hanging folds of the relief<sup>1</sup>. Then came the discovery, which a less conscientious method might never have revealed, that a chiton so held would either leave its wearer naked to the knees or else have to be so long that, when caught up over a girdle, it would hang as no Greek chiton should. The attendants wear chitons properly girt; but these chitons are a full yard shorter than that which the Studniczkan model is forced to wear. Only if the central figure is kneeling, can the thesis that the cloth is the lower end of the chiton be maintained. But in that case, I am confident that the artist would have shown the knees beneath the pendent panel in order to explain the pose. And in any event, the unpleasant suggestion that the handmaids are disrobing rather than adorning their lady would remain. Thus, even though Studniczka's explanation would prove that the central figure cannot be erect, I cannot bring myself to accept it. But if the handmaidens cannot be clothing their mistress with this drapery (since it corresponds to no known Greek article of dress), nor yet be dragging at her sodden skirts, we are left with precisely what we seem at first glance to see: the attendants are supporting the central figure under her armpits, while she in turn supports with bent elbows a part of her weight from their shoulders, and they are holding a blanket-like woolen cloth in front of her as she kneels low upon the ground. But why? The simplest answer is to say very simply that while she is kneeling behind the veiling cloth, this cloth is suspended purposely so that no one may see why she kneels.

Who then is the veiled Kneeling Goddess? With the question so framed, all Greeks would have told us the proper answer; but since such witnesses are all long vanished from the earth, we must be content to let them speak as they chose, without our questioning them more closely:

<sup>1</sup> *JAb.* 1911, p. 115, figs. 43-44. Was the chiton too tight to permit a wider pulling apart? In the photograph it is held too close to the model and its curve is too steep. And would not material that gave these heavy folds in front, nec-

essarily fail to show the clinging texture on the body, even as the chiton in the photograph fails to cling to the model? But these are accessory and minor difficulties.



[In Olympia] "between the treasures and the hill there is a shrine of Eileithyia and in it a native Elean *daimon*, Sosipolis, is revered... Now the temple is built in two parts, and in the hither one there is an altar and there the public may enter; but in the inner part Sosipolis is honored and there may no one come save her who serves this god and she must wear a white cloth over her face and head, while in Eileithyia's shrine maidens and matrons wait, singing the hymn and burning all manner of frankincense (though wine they may not pour)"<sup>1</sup>.

(A little later it appears that this "City-saver" was Eileithyia's child, whom "she brought forth unto men" to save the Eleans from the Arcadians long ago.)

[At the gate of Hermione in the Argolis] "there is a shrine of Eileithyia within the town wall; and greatly do they supplicate this goddess daily with sacrifices and burnings of incense, and vast is the number of dedications to Eileithyia. But no one save, of course, the priestesses may look upon her image"<sup>2</sup>.

"At Aigion is an olden shrine of Eileithyia and She herself is hidden from head to toe with a finely woven cloth"<sup>3</sup>.

[At Athens near the temple of Olympian Zeus] "is built a temple of Eileithyia.... and only the Athenians conceal the images of Eileithyia to the toes"<sup>4</sup> (which does not seem to agree with the passage previously cited).

"The people of Tegea have a temple and a statue of Eileithyia in their market-place, and her they call the Kneeling Auge, relating how Aleos gave over his daughter to Nauplios with the command to take her out to sea and drown her, but while she was being led away she knelt down and thus gave birth to her son, just there where now is Eileithyia's shrine. But there is also another version, in which Auge gave birth unbeknownst to her father, and Telephos was cast out upon Parthenios mountain and there a doe gave milk to the helpless child"<sup>5</sup> — (from which the perspicacious will see that Auge was not Eileithyia and that it was Eileithyia whose image showed a woman kneeling)<sup>6</sup>.

In the fifth book of Herodotos (ch. 82-86) there is a curious story how the people of Epidauros carved out of Athenian olive-wood images of two divinities called Damia and Auxesia (*i. e.* Tilth and Growth?) to stay the barrenness of their land; but the folk of the nearby island of Aegina stole these fetishes "and set them up in the interior of the island at a place called Oie, rather more than two miles from their town. And there they supplicated them with sacrifices and taunting women's songs, in twin choruses provided each by ten appointed men, to rail at the women of the land". Later the Athenians came in their turn to carry off the images, "and being unable to remove them from their bases, they cast ropes around them and pulled at them, whereat (others may believe this story, but not I!) both images, even as they were being dragged, fell upon their knees; and from that time until this, so have they remained".

Here there is much for the student of folk-lore and religion to expound; but even the lay classicist can see that these divinities controlled the fertility of women as well as of the fields, and guess in consequence why they kneeled, and know that their images must have been Eileithyia *xoana* like the three ancient wooden figures in the shrine in Athens, whereof Pausanias relates that two were Cretan ("and the Cretans hold that she was Hera's daughter") and that the third came from Delos ("whence they say the rest of the world learned the name Eileithyia")<sup>7</sup>.

Studniczka reproduces in his celebrated article<sup>8</sup> an Egyptian relief showing a kneeling woman giving birth. She raises her arms precisely in the pose of the central figure on the Ludovisi relief, putting her hand on the shoulder of an attendant who leans above her and supports her under the armpit. A second attendant stands behind the first in a similar gesture of support, in the spatial interpretation of which scene a due allowance must be made for the conventions of Egyptian art; since she repeats the contours of the first attendant, she must be understood as occupied in the identical task. Since there cannot be any direct connection between such an Egyptian and an early-fifth century Greek relief, we can only suppose that an identical theme — thanks to the realistic intent in either case — has found an exactly parallel illustration<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> PAUSANIAS, VI 20, 2-3.

<sup>2</sup> PAUS., II 35, 11.

<sup>3</sup> PAUS., VII 23, 5.

<sup>4</sup> PAUS., I 18, 5.

<sup>5</sup> PAUS., VIII 48, 7-8.

<sup>6</sup> Further material appears conveniently assembled in FARNELL, *Culte of the Greek States*, II 615-617. There is an excellent study of Eileithyia by P. V. C. Baur, which first appeared in German in the VIII. Supplementband to *Philologus* (451-512) and was later translated and revised for the *University of Missouri Studies* I, 4 (1902), 1-90.

<sup>7</sup> PAUS., I 18, 5. It is tempting to derive Εἰλειθυία from εἰλέω (even if it is not a feminine past participle formed in accord with classical usage) and translate "She-who-is-crouched"; but the great variety in the orthography of the name suggests that this is mere *Volkeetymologie*, while the intimate connection with Hera and with Delos makes hers a pre-Hellenic cult. In Etruscan Caere, her shrine is classed as a "Pelasgian" foundation by Strabo (v 2, 8).

<sup>8</sup> *Jhb.* 1911, p. 101, fig. 32.

<sup>9</sup> Compare the remarks of the physician SORANOS (ed. Rose, p. 239) that a woman must stand on either side of



But in the Egyptian relief a further attendant, reduplicated by a similar assistant, kneels in front of the woman in child-birth and draws forth the new-born child. It has been objected to a comparable interpretation of the Ludovisi relief that no child is being born and no midwife is busy at her task. The observation is correct: no child is being born. There is no infant hero. But the goddess of childbirth is shown in the attitude of her votaries by a convention as deep-seated as religion itself<sup>1</sup>.

The god of the smiths occupies himself forging and smithing; the patron goddess of hunters is herself an addict of the chase; the goddess of love proves most prone of all the Olympians to moral lapses; the god of wine is himself a heavy drinker; the goddess of childbirth herself gives birth. But no one is intended to be solicitous of her children; indeed, though it may seem preposterous, she has none. True, Auge bears Telephos; but Auge ἐν γόνασι is not really the mother of Telephos, but Eileithyia under a local name; and Sosipolis at Olympia is probably a mere ascription of some local hero to the goddess whose shrine he shares.

We have seen in the pages of Pausanias that either the images of the goddess are covered from head to foot with a veil or that the profane eye is forbidden to look upon her statue. We may guess from the Auge ἐν γόνασι and from the Herodotean account of Damia and Auxesia, that these hidden images displayed the mystery of kneeling childbirth. If one will turn the pages of Greek vase-painting and drawings, one will soon discover how carefully an Hellenic maiden was taught — if she would kneel in play at knuckle-bones or other action — to kneel on one knee only: to kneel on both would be grossly indecorous in one who had no such painful need. And so the goddess who kneels in token of her function among mortals must hide the indecorousness of her position and have her lower body veiled from the sight of all but her permitted votaries. The oldest xoana may have had even better reason for such concealment.

All classical scholars are familiar with the passage in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (117-8) in which Leto on the island of Delos gives birth:

“And about the palmtree she cast her forearms, and on the soft sward set her knees,  
And the earth smiled underneath her, and the child to the light leapt forth”.

But they might complain that the woman on the Ludovisi relief, for all her strained upturned face and her clinging grasp on her handmaids, cannot be seriously intended to illustrate a similar scene. And they could object that Greek poetry might describe in words an event which Greek art would hesitate to portray in actual picture. But the objection is mistaken. The Ludovisi relief is not a birth-scene. I repeat, no child is being born. But Eileithyia ἐν γόνασι is shown for her votaries to propitiate and pray to, even as in Olympia her statue was adored and besought in her secret shrine by her aged priestess, while the maidens may have sung their hymns to her to the sound of flutes and the matrons burned frankincense in her honor.

This goddess Eileithyia seems to have been an aspect (perhaps arising out of an epithet) of the chief goddess of women, Hera. If Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, and Pausanias call her Hera's daughter, and if she is under Hera's strict control in the *Iliad* and in the *Hymn to Apollo*, we should not be surprised to find her called outrightly Hera-Eileithyia in Athens and Argos or to discover her in Italy identified as Juno Lucina<sup>2</sup>. And if a commentator on Vergil<sup>3</sup> declares that no woman may enter her precinct save with ungirt body, and Ovid<sup>4</sup> prescribes, “Let her who is with child unbind her hair before she prays”, it is inevitable that these aspects of her votaries should also be transferred to the goddess and that the central figure of the Ludovisi relief should be conspicuously characterised by flowing loosened hair and a girdleless gown<sup>5</sup>.

Pausanias believed<sup>6</sup> that the Eileithyia cult originated in Delos and that “Olen, the Lycian, who composed the oldest Greek hymns”<sup>7</sup>, was the author of the hymn sung in her honor in Delos, wherein she

a woman in birth, and a third behind her, to support her. In early Greek art, this third figure would automatically vanish because of the spatial limitations of the medium. I have referred to the Throne attendants as Horai, but their proper title is no doubt Γεγετυλλίδες as in ARISTOPHANES, *Thesm.* 130.

<sup>1</sup> See the additional material in the Addendum.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. HORACE, *Carmen Saeculare*, 13-16, *Rite maturos aperire partus | lenis, Ilithyia, tuere matres, | sive tu Lucina pro-*

*bas vocari | seu Genitalis*”. Cf. also Roscher's *Lexikon s. v.* “Juno (Lucina)”.

<sup>3</sup> SERVIUS *ad Aen.* IV 518, (*ad*) *Junonis Lucinae sacra non licet accedere nisi solutis nodis*.

<sup>4</sup> *Fasti* III 257, *Si qua tamen gravida est, resoluta crine precetur*.

<sup>5</sup> Her garment would not be transparent at the waist if a girdle with overfold had been intended for her.

<sup>6</sup> PAUS. I 18, 5.

<sup>7</sup> PAUS. IX 27, 2.



was celebrated as mother of Eros. This latter divinity seems to have signally failed to establish himself in the Greek pantheon, seldom emerging from a subordinate rank as a casual and almost frivolous attendant on Aphrodite. In art we find him little more than a child throughout the fifth century, struggling unsuccessfully toward manhood in the fourth, and thereafter lapsing into an ever more and more helpless and ineffective infancy. If we follow his career beyond classical times we shall ultimately discover him as the *putto* of the Italian Renaissance or even as a disembodied baby's face enveloped in seraph wings. But there is a certain amount of evidence to show that this ineffectual and undeveloped *daimon* was not everywhere treated with the same casual patronage nor utterly subordinated as a playful attendant on Aphrodite. At Thespiæ in Boeotia and at Parion on the Hellespont the cult of Eros appears to have been deeply rooted in non-Hellenic, probably Pelasgian, traditions which held him to be the creative power from which life derives and, as such, an intimate of the fertile grain-bearing earth. This conception seems to have been alien to the Greeks. The Ionians appear to have ignored the Eros cult, and the Dorians to have given it a different turn, by which he lost his procreative power. In literature there may be echoes of the older conception in the cosmogonic Eros of Hesiod, of Orphic speculation, and perhaps of Plato. Whether the Eros of Sappho, Ibykos and Anakreon is still the powerful *daimon* of this pre-Hellenic cult would be impossible to establish from the scanty extant material. The dominant formative rôle of Ionic art in the sixth and of Attic art in the fifth centuries seems to have prevented any formulation or representation of the "Pelasgian" Eros in the iconographical repertory, where we find only the ineffectual companion of Aphrodite, the winged Boy Beautiful who is fond of the lyre. In consequence, a Greek artist who wished to illustrate the Cosmogonic Eros representative of the creative life-force, the active power to which Aphrodite was only the passive counterpart, would have had no iconographic tradition to which to turn, but would have had to adapt — for better or for worse — the winged *παῖς καλός* of the Attic vase-painters. Herein may lie the explanation of the strangeness, the disturbing unfamiliarity, of the main relief of the Boston Counterpart. In the extreme corners, beneath the ornaments, are the two great fertility symbols of Greek iconographic tradition — the fish (which spawns beyond all counting) and the pomegranate (which is a mere sack of seeds). This Eros is therefore a fertility *daimon*, and in the tiny figures in his scales he can only be weighing out human children (naturally boys!) to mortal mothers, to whom he gives or withholds as pleases him. Yet we see only a smiling *παῖς καλός* with great wings and, around the corner, another *παῖς καλός*, wingless this time, but with the favorite attribute of the Attic Erotes, the lyre. And for the mothers we see only a "mourning Penelope" on the side where the balance will not tilt favorably and on the opposite side, as an improvised antithesis, a seated smiling woman who makes either the gesture of greeting or (a very uncertain possibility) the Eileithyia-gesture of outstretched arm with open palm<sup>1</sup>. A discrepancy between pictorial representation and religious meaning may really exist in this relief, because the cult was not a common Greek one and had no pictorial tradition on which to draw.

Our result is rather unhappy. An Eileithyia cult, with which the procreative Eros is associated, has suffered iconographically from a complete lack of artistic prototypes. To the kneeling birth-goddess our only discoverable echo has been an Etruscan mirror showing two heroes supporting the kneeling Penthesilea; to the god of the procreative life-force who brings children to married women our only echo has been the frivolous Eros of Attic-Ionic tradition and the *psychostasia*, or weighing of souls, with which the vase-painters illustrated Homeric legend<sup>2</sup>. And from this state of affairs only one plausible conclusion may be drawn. We are dealing with the illustration, in terms perforce of the normal Greek artistic tradition, of an abnormal cult otherwise not in touch with Greek artistic activity.

In Greece, while the "Pelasgian" Eros is at home at Thespiæ, we find that Artemis replaces Eileithyia as the birth-goddess in Boeotia. In Delos, Eileithyia is the mother of Eros in Olen's earliest of Greek hymns; but there is no Eros cult at home in Delos, and Eileithyia soon becomes identified with Artemis. In the West we perhaps fare a trifle better. There was an Eileithyia cult at the port of Caere, and this is traditionally a Pelasgian foundation. In Rome the birth-goddess is Juno Lucina, with a shrine of great antiquity

<sup>1</sup> Cf. FARNELL, *op. cit.*, II 613. SITTLL, *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer*, 322, declares (I do not know on what authority), "Bei den Eileithyien kommt es nicht sowohl auf

die Erhebung des Armes, als auf die Ausbreitung der Finger an".

<sup>2</sup> For which see STUDNICZKA, *Jhb.* 1911, 131-7.



"*monte sub Esquilio*", whither Roman matrons came to pray for the gift of children<sup>1</sup>; and the cult of *Ilithyia*, as a variant of *Lucina* and a bestower of fertility, is expressly attested by Horace in the *Carmen Saeculare*.

The Greek identification of *Eileithyia* with the Argive *Hera* and the Latin identification of *Lucina* with *Juno* lead naturally to a search for traces of the cult of *Hera* of Argos to supplement those of the Birth-goddess; and since Aegean Greece seems to yield so little help, we may profit by Ashmole's verdict<sup>2</sup> that the style of the Ludovisi relief is Magna-Graecian, and investigate the character of the *Hera* cult in South Italy.

The available evidence is quickly assembled<sup>3</sup>:

At Metapontum the Greek *Hera* cult seems to have been identified with a native tradition of still greater antiquity, if we may judge from Pliny's testimony of the existence of a temple with wooden columns there<sup>4</sup>.

At Sybaris the *Hera* cult was prominent and very probably was the leading one of the city. Plutarch<sup>5</sup> refers to the goddess as *τῆς Λευκαδίας Ἥρας*, but the *Hera* head on the subsequent coins of Thurii is that of *Hera Lacinia*.

Near Croton, on the headland called *Lakinion*, was situated the most important *Hera* sanctuary in the Greek West. Though the goddess was generally held to have taken her epithet *Lakinia* from the location of her shrine, local legend knew of a king or hero called *Lakinios*. In view of the devastating philological changes which can be produced by *Volksetymologie* it is not impossible that *Hera Lakinia*, *Hera Leukadia*, and *Juno Lucina* are all deformations of the single name of a South Italian fertility-goddess identified with *Hera* by the Greeks and with *Juno* by the Latins. The name of the town Croton has been compared with Cortona in Etruscan and with Gyrtone in Thessalian-Pelasgian areas; and the worship of *Herakles* as the original founder of the town agrees with this Tyrrhenian-Pelasgian connection, since the pre-Greek *Herakles* is ethnically thus allied.

A second *Hera* sanctuary of almost equal importance existed a few miles north of Poseidonia (Paestum) close to the mouth of the river Silaris (Sele). Here the Troizenian colonists from Sybaris, founding their new city of Poseidonia, took under their surveillance and maintained the already extant cult of Argive *Hera*. Perhaps through mere confusion between Argos and Argo, they told the tale of its original foundation by the Argonauts under Jason's leadership. Since the sanctuary, though not as distant from the town of Poseidonia as the *Hera Lacinia* Temple from Croton, was none the less on a completely distinct site, it is very easy to believe that the cult was older than the town and hence in its origin need not have been Greek at all. It is perfectly possible that *Lucina-Lakinia* was an older goddess in whom the Greek colonists saw their own *Hera* of Argos. In any event, the identification of *Hera-Eileithyia* and *Juno-Lucina* should throw light on the nature of this divinity.

All of this is thin picking; and it may well be doubted whether anyone would have had the hardihood to proceed farther, were it not for the encouragement most recently afforded by the brilliantly successful excavation of this same *Hera* sanctuary near Paestum<sup>6</sup>.

Among the enormous quantity of terra-cotta ex-voto offerings discovered on this site, the oldest and earliest appears to be a seated *Hera Kourotrophos* with a child on her arm and a pomegranate in her hand; while the very latest surviving memorial of the cult, dramatically and almost incredibly persistent despite all changes and misfortunes which have swept over the region with the passing of the centuries, is Our Lady of the Pomegranate with the Child on her arm, which serves as the holy image for a little village church on a spur of the near-by hills.

Other indications are plentiful to show the character of this *Hera* worship. There are, among the discovered terra-cottas, doves and pomegranates galore, and *Erotes*, and lily blossoms which also are the badge

<sup>1</sup> Cf. OVID, *Fasti*, II 425 ff. and the story (437 f.) how in Romulus' day *huc ubi venerunt pariter nuptaeque virique | suppliciter posito procubuerunt genua* to pray for offspring.

<sup>2</sup> JHS XLII (1922) 248-53.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. G. GIANNELLI, *Culti e Miti della Magna Grecia*.

<sup>4</sup> PLINY, N. H. XIV 9, *Metaponti templum Iunonis virginis columnis stetit*.

<sup>5</sup> *De sera num. vind.*, 12.

<sup>6</sup> The first official report, characterised as a "*relazione preliminare*", but actually supplying a great deal of detailed information, appeared in the *Notizie degli Scavi* for 1937, 206-354 under the names of the two co-excavators, Zancani-Montuoro and Zanotti-Bianco. I have had the great pleasure of visiting the site and examining its sculptures; but my remarks in this article are based exclusively on the official account as already published.



of Juno Lucina<sup>1</sup>. There was found also a terra-cotta of a woman great with child. But the most striking discovery — at least for the hermeneutics of the Ludovisi relief — was a figurine (Pl. 20) of a kneeling woman. She is shown nude, save for a drapery over her head and back, which she is holding with either hand, — though whether to draw it together or throw it open is not apparent. Her pose is the crouching-kneeling attitude which we must assume for the Ludovisi relief in order to find room for the central figure above the ground-line. If a cloth were hung in front of the kneeling terra-cotta as in the Ludovisi relief, the proportions between the veiled and unveiled portions of the figure would be the same in statuette and relief. But the experiment would immediately suggest that the relief betrays no hint of the forward bending movement inherent in such a pose, while the cloth hangs too close to the body to give proper room for the knees. If the critic, thus grown skeptical, will observe that all the faces on the Ludovisi Throne are in pure profile and even the breasts of Eileithyia are miscarved because drawn in profile, that the feet of the attendants are aligned without proper allowance for the depth of the crossing legs, that the hanging sleeves of the attendants follow the surface of the marble rather than the dictates of gravitation, and that the flute-girl's right leg emerges from her stomach, he will realise that his objection is ill founded because it ignores the representational methods of relief-drawing at this phase of its evolution. (In passing, it will not have escaped such a critic that in the Counterpart the heads on the main relief show three intermediary positions between pure profile and full front, confirming the suggestion of a later date for its composition, but that the women's breasts are still misdrawn).

To return to the kneeling terra-cotta, its similarity to the Eileithyia of the Throne is by no means confined to the crouching pose or the loosened hair. Behind her shoulders and leaning forward over her, with their heads close to hers in a triangle, are her two attendants, here male and hence Erotes and not Horai. It has not escaped the well-informed writers of the excavational report that this crouching figure with her attendants can only be Eileithyia<sup>2</sup>.

Later, especially in Hellenistic art, the type becomes assimilated to Aphrodite; but the kneeling pose, the attendant Erotes (even though Erotes), and the birth symbol of the *type parlant* of the open shell<sup>3</sup>, betray the original significance. Even so, the only really common type of kneeling woman among classical figurines<sup>4</sup> is not usually characterised as Aphrodite by any specific attribute and has been found almost entirely in Southern Italy. To the well-known example in the Louvre<sup>5</sup> belongs *ein Stück Gewandung, das vielleicht von einem Eros gehalten wurde, aber nicht hinter der Göttin, sondern vor ihr*<sup>6</sup>.

I conclude from the evidence of the Heraion on the Silaris (and herein I am only following the conclusions of the excavators themselves as I have heard them expressed) that the Goddess there worshipped as Argive Hera was a birth-goddess such as the Greeks would have called Eileithyia, as well as a fertility goddess presiding over the gift of children, and that in her aspect as a birth-goddess she could be represented in essentially the form in which she appears on the main relief on the Ludovisi Throne.

It would be tempting to urge further that the symbols of the pomegranate and the river-fish on the Boston Counterpart are direct allusions to a Hera sanctuary located at the mouth of a river, since this method of topographical allusion is abundantly substantiated on the fifth century coins of the Greek cities of Sicily and Magna Graecia. Shoreland towns situated close to a river rather generally struck coins on which in earlier times a man-headed bull, in later times the horned head of a youth, personified the stream, and river-fish beneath or in the surrounding field marked the access of the river to the sea<sup>7</sup>. But on a relief in which the procreative Eros is the central figure, it is at least equally likely that the symbols are only fertility signs, and their re-occurrence on the side reliefs (for which they have no obvious significance) follows merely from the same sense which returned the decorative ornamentation symmetrically around the angles of the stone. So little of marble has been discovered at the Heraion on the Silaris, where even the most exquisite metopes on the buildings were carved in sandstone, that there is little encouragement for assuming that the Ludovisi

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ROSCHER'S *Lexikon* II<sup>1</sup> 585.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. their excellent footnote (6) to p. 219 of their article.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. DEONNA, *Rev. Arch* 1917, II 393-402.

<sup>4</sup> WINTER, *Die Typen der Figürlichen Terrakotten*, II p. 204, no. 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Mon. Piot*, II pl. XXI, pp. 171-84.

<sup>6</sup> WINTER, *op. cit.*, p. 202, no. 3. The non-italics are mine.

<sup>7</sup> Camarina, Catana, Gela and Thurii are excellent examples, for which cf. HEAD, *Historia Numorum*<sup>2</sup> s. vv.



Throne and the Counterpart were originally made for this particular sanctuary. At least equally plausible would be their ascription to the shrine of Hera Lakinia on the headland south of Croton. "The temple of this great goddess was by far the most renowned sanctuary in all Italy. To this shrine at stated times vast crowds would flock from all parts of the west"<sup>1</sup>. Such a sanctuary would have been enormously wealthy, as Strabo expressly attests<sup>2</sup>; and the Magna-Graecian love of Greek art in its finest manifestations is attested on every manner of evidence. To some such West Greek sanctuary of Hera-Eileithyia it appears to be most plausible to assign the monument adorned by these reliefs.

But what sort of monument that was, — whether an altar or a "Bed of Adonis" or a sacrificial pit or a birth-shrine *bothros* or the screen for the celebration of a mystery, — I have not the slightest idea and, even after all the learned and laborious investigations of so many leading scholars, can see no slightest possibility of ever discovering<sup>3</sup>.

If my interpretation is correct, the mysterious old woman on the Counterpart can only be a nurse or a professional ministrant to the Birth-goddess. The mysterious object which has so carefully been chiseled from her grasp has been seriously explained as phallic. This is neither a preposterous nor an outrageous suggestion for a monument at a shrine where women prayed for children; but it would be much more plausible if the end of the marble had not so obviously been damaged and cut down and the old woman had not also lost her left hand, which could have offended no one. Since the faint outline traced by the chiseling, which removed the attribute from her lightly clenched right hand and from the relief-field above it, does not resemble any material object which any archaeologist has been able to cite or display as thus represented in early Greek art, it is at least possible that its form has not been recognised because it was essentially untypical and amorphous. There is a red-figured amphora in Munich illustrating the story of Odysseus and Nausikaa<sup>4</sup>, in which one of the maidens holds in both hands a crumpled strip of cloth with much the gesture of the old woman of the Counterpart and much the outline of the mysterious missing object. If the analogy is sound the old woman is a mid-wife clutching swaddling-bands, and dedicating them (or similar objects) to the Kneeling Goddess after a safe delivery<sup>5</sup>. The careful removal of every trace of their representation on the relief is explicable from the unintelligibility of the remnant which survived the accident to the marble and is of the same nature as the disappearance of the stump of the old woman's left hand<sup>6</sup>. But there is no obligation to guess every riddle; and if this explanation seems only one more foolish hypothesis, its rejection is easy and of little moment.

But if this explanation chances to be correct, the Counterpart offers an extraordinary parallel (surely accidental, but not therefore valueless) to the ancient Sumerian clay reliefs published and interpreted by E. DOUGLAS VAN BUREN in *Archiv für Orientforschung* IX 4 (1934), 165-171, whereon are represented the Birth-Goddess standing erect, with two heads of unborn children at her shoulders, "not children of flesh and blood, but... potential human beings who have not yet materialized, and whom the goddess had power to call into corporate existence", and two flanking symbols consisting of "looped bands, which must be imagined hung on the walls of her shrine", representing "swaddling-bands with which the new-born infants, when they were actually brought into being, would be bound". The essential identity of this conception with the Cosmogonic Eros weighing-out souls of children to mortal mothers, with the attendant dedicating the swaddling-bands, on the Counterpart, is made all the more striking by the gulf of time and space between the two monuments.

Although the connection is slight, it should be of more than merely casual interest to point out that the mysteries in the famous fresco of the *Villa dei Misteri* at Pompeii belong to the same religious realm.

<sup>1</sup> HEAD, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

<sup>2</sup> VI 1, 11: τὸ Λακίνιον Ἡρας ἱερὸν πλούσιόν ποτε ὑπόρξαν καὶ πολλῶν ἀναθημάτων μεστόν. Cf. also his remark (V 2, 8) on the Eileithyia shrine at the harbor of Caere as πλούσιόν ποτε γενόμενον.

<sup>3</sup> Yet the interpretation as an altar still seems the most plausible and is made still more so by von Gerkan's reconstruction sketch (*Jhf.* 1929, p. 153, fig. 64). The type again points to Magna Graecia or Sicily, as von Gerkan remarks; and the inevitable differences between the two parts of the

monument lose in importance the more widely the two altar ends are to be separated.

<sup>4</sup> FURTWÄNGLER-REICHHOLD, pl. 138<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> There are epigrams in the *Anthology* commemorating just such dedications to Eileithyia (*Anth. Pal.* VI 200, 270, and 274).

<sup>6</sup> Compare also the chiseling away (preliminary to a repair in stucco?) of the incense-burner's right hand on the Throne.



The decking of the bride affords an unmistakable clue to the proper interpretation. The winged female *daimon* who flogs the cowering initiate should be (in deed, if not in actual name) the same Lucina whose priests at the Roman shrine beneath the Esquiline struck out with goat-hide strips at matrons seeking for fertility. And the veiled object close at hand in the mystic basket can only be in crasser form the same generative power which stands on the Counterpart in the misleading guise of a smiling winged boy. Only the Dionysiac element of the frescoes is wholly alien to the environment of the Eileithyia-Eros reliefs — unless indeed a more ingenious mind can show who Ariadne the Bride may be, and why the same thread leads both her and Eileithyia back to Cnossian Crete<sup>1</sup>.

In the interpretation of the Throne and its Counterpart, which has been given in the preceding pages, there is little that has not already been said or at least suggested by others. As in the Homeric Question, where almost every possible view has had its champion, it is more important to choose and combine correctly amid the old than to advance new hypotheses. In summary, it has been shown that the favorite explanation of the Ludovisi relief as Aphrodite rising from the sea must be discarded because irreconcilable with Greek artistic conventions and the pictorial traditions of the time; that a technical problem of a very baffling nature may be solved on the hypothesis that the Ludovisi marble was adapted to a new monumental use and that the Boston Counterpart was expressly produced, a little later than the Throne, as a supplementary composition, and that in consequence each of the three reliefs of the Counterpart should be interpreted with direct reference to its corresponding scene on the Throne; and finally, that the combined monument was intended for a shrine of Argive Hera-Eileithyia in some West Greek sanctuary of Lucina-Lakinia where Eros was worshipped as the Life-force and Eileithyia as the Life-bringer. The explanation of the uniquely lovely main relief of the Throne as picturing a woman in child-birth, though championed by modern archaeological authorities of the foremost rank, has proved repugnant to the majority of critics and the general public alike. This interpretation is in any event iconographically impossible because it implies the birth of a god or hero without his further appearance or mention. There are abundant examples of the representation of such scenes as the birth of Athena or Dionysos, but not with a complete omission of Dionysos and Athena! It cannot be too emphatically repeated that on the Ludovisi Throne, behind the secret veil, no child is being born, any more than for the kneeling nude figurine from the Heraion on the Silaris an actual child-birth can possibly be intended.

No child is being born; yet the goddess of child-birth kneels forever with head cast back and face upturned, supported by her attendants in her need, for much the same illogical but sufficient reason that in Greek art the god who presides over the music of others is condemned forever to play his own lyre.

There is no other Greek relief in the Roman galleries which can for a moment approach in interest or in importance the Ludovisi Throne. Even the magnificent Rider relief of the Villa Albani (which deserves republication and better illustration than it has yet attained) would never rival it in popularity, even if the general public were permitted its acquaintance. But the opportunities of sculptural research are not limited, or even determined, by intrinsic sculptural worth, so that the lesser known may yield its own abundant harvest of problems and discoveries. And of this there is no more attractive exemplification than

<sup>1</sup> According to PAUSANIAS (I 18, 5) Eileithyia was fabled to have been born in Amnisos, the port of Knossos, where her cave sanctuary is mentioned by STRABO (X 4, 8) and the *Odyssey*, XIX 188). Her ancient importance in Delos (where Ariadne too has some unclear connection, cf. PW. II<sup>1</sup> 808)

was obscured by her subsequent local identification with Artemis — a strange assumption for anyone familiar with Greek poetry, since she must then have tended her own birth! On the Eileithyia cult in Delos cf. *Explor. Arch. Délos*, IX (*Mont Cynthe*) 293-308.



## the Peliad Relief in the Lateran

(PLATE 21 LEFT),

which has long attracted attention for the dramatic character — one might even say theatricality — of its composition, but has not hitherto been correctly analysed archaeologically. In this three-figure composition the central actor is surprisingly off-axis, stooped low beneath a free background (a combination which imparts the power of suggested motion), in a pose of considerable physical activity as she strains to move a heavy tripod into place. All action in the scene is seemingly hers, since to left and right stand motionless vertically draped figures, — Medea on the left in Oriental costume, about to open her casket of magic herbs, and a daughter of Pelias on the right, lost in meditation, with swordlike knife raised close to her cheek and empty sheath held at her waist. Whoever recognised this harmless scene for what it was, and felt the latent horror of it, knew that the central physical action was trivial in comparison with the tremendous invisible drama in the minds of these unmoving actors who framed it. As the legend was illustrated in Greek art, the aged Pelias had three daughters who, somewhat as in *King Lear*, were divided in their allegiance toward their father. Alcestis was the oldest and for great love of her father could not bring herself to join her sisters in slaying him in order to restore his youth in the magic caldron, despite Medea's preliminary experiment of rejuvenating an aged ram. The hesitant Peliad on the Lateran relief cannot, accordingly, be intended for Alcestis, who is omitted for the very reason that she was not a participant in the dreadful act. In vase illustrations there is often a Peliad with knife in hand (on a red-figured crater in Tarquinia she is named Alcandra) who is characterised as the actual protagonist. Why, then, on the Lateran relief does she hesitate and brood? The tradition in vase-painting favors the miracle of the ram for popularity over the actual slaying of Pelias, yet in either case frequently shows a Peliad with drawn knife, but (as has just been remarked) gives her a most active and decided part in the action<sup>1</sup>. Nothing in the vase-painters' traditions resembles the Lateran relief or explains its iconographic origin. It is seemingly a new creation — and yet it is doubtful whether such a thing as an entirely new creation exists anywhere in Greek legendary art. Elsewhere, in a study of the lost sculptures of the Parthenon east pediment<sup>2</sup>, I have tried to show how greatly the minor Attic reliefs of the fourth century were influenced by the major sculptural creations immediately preceding them. If the position is sound, we should expect that our Peliad relief, inexplicable from the vase-painter's repertory, had its origins in sculptural tradition. The central Peliad with the caldron is reminiscent of the Nike Parapet reliefs. She shows the chiton slipping from the shoulder, the precariously suspended himation, the stooping pose, the transparent drapery over leg and thigh, with sharply edged ridges in very distinctive patterns, the spreading folds over the abdomen, perhaps even the head-type with gathered knot on crown<sup>3</sup>, which all belong in this general artistic environment. She serves to date the relief as certainly later than 420 and probably later than 410 B. C. The figure in Oriental dress is thoroughly colorless, a stop-gap without any specific personal history, except that her head, her pose, and some of her drapery again fit the Nike Parapet tradition<sup>4</sup>. In contrast, the Peliad with the sword is a striking figure, plastically vigorous, esthetically arresting and exciting. She was most illuminatingly mistaken for Medea herself by Brunn some sixty years ago<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The material has been well assembled by Scherling for the article *Peliades* in Pauly-Wissowa (vol. XIX, part 1, 308-17, publ. in 1937).

<sup>2</sup> *Hesperia* II 1933, 78.

<sup>3</sup> Specifically, most of the enumerated details may be paralleled in the work of the sculptor whom I have called

"Master B" (cf. my *Sculpture of the Nike Temple Parapet*, 23-33).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. particularly the sleeved trophy on the Parapet, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXII.

<sup>5</sup> *Sitzungsberichte d. bayerischen Akademie*, 1881, II 95-103; reprinted in H. BRUNN, *Kleine Schriften* III 178-83.



There can be no doubt that, as regards this relief, Brunn was wrong. The figure with the casket cannot be a slave in Thessalian dress, since such an emphasis on a minor and wholly unlegendary subordinate would ruin the dramatic concentration of the composition. Medea, as a magician, wears Oriental dress: on the potency or falsity of the contents of her box of *pharmaka* hangs all the difference between promised miracle and sordid murder. Yet Brunn insisted that the other figure, brooding and plotting death, must be the vengeful foreign woman. He argued that all the spiritual emphasis and dramatic concentration belonged to the wielder of the knife, in contrast with whom the two other figures were merely physically occupied in material preparations. Brunn possessed great artistic feeling and a responsive sensitiveness to the Greek genius. He felt overwhelmingly that the weak, plastically subordinated figure on the left had no claim to be anything more than a servile accessory and that the wonderful brooding murderess with the sword must be, could only be, Medea. If he was iconographically wrong for the specific *ensemble* of the Lateran relief, he may yet have been iconographically right for this same figure isolated and considered solely in itself.

Who is she? and whence does she come? Has she more than merely spiritual kinship with the brooding Medea of the Pompeian wall-paintings whom she undeniably resembles?

That she is sculptural rather than pictorial in inspiration is fairly obvious. Her closely compact, frontal pose fits admirably into the statuary traditions of the developed fifth century style, with the single curious exception that (considered as a statue) she is off-center and badly out of balance: the free-leg could not have been thus displaced nor such a slant given to the straight lines over the weight-leg. A hypercritical eye might also be puzzled at the swinging curves which animate the overfold beneath her right elbow and within the crook of her left arm and be tempted to wonder why she holds the empty sheath of her sword *underneath* this portion of her robe. But nothing positive is gained by the detection of such *minutiae*, unless it be a conviction that a statuary prototype has suffered changes in the course of its adaptation to the purposes of this relief. Without signal help from some wholly different quarter, there would scarcely be any prospect of further progress in the investigation.

The "Prokne with Itys" of the Athenian Acropolis<sup>1</sup> will not be of much assistance. She is far more solidly static in her pose, without the Polykleitan chiasmus of raised hip and lowered shoulder, and with no pertinent similarities anywhere in the drapery. By no possibility could she have been the immediate prototype of our Peliad, however arguable it may be that she is a remoter ancestor of the general theme of the meditating murderess.

A better parallel, so far as sculptural essentials are concerned, lives far away from Athens in the most unexpected of haunts, the *Loggia dei Lanzi* at Florence. She bears the inveterate and silly nickname of Thusnelda (PLATE 21 RIGHT).

No one, of course, for a moment supposes nowadays that this well-preserved and impressive piece of statuary really represents the wife of the German chieftain Arminius, whose name is given by Strabo (VII 1, 4), and of whom Tacitus gives the vivid pictures in his *Annals* (I 57), — *neque victa in lacrimas neque voce supplex; compressis intra sinum manibus gravidum uterum intuens*. But the nickname has stuck. If not Thusnelda, at least she could be a German captive or the mourning figure of conquered Germania; and as such she has endured, almost unchallenged, and (it must be said) comparatively little heeded.

The argument seems to run that the bare breast, the unbound hair, and the sombre expression denote the mourner; the curious shoes are presumably the barbarian *gallicae* of Roman speech and mark their wearer as North European; the facial type with the heavy chin and the broad line of the eyes under flat eyebrows looks Teutonic. It is curious that not one of these ethnographical observations is correct.

The situation cannot be better argued than it has been by Bienkowski, who has made himself an authority on matters barbarian in ancient art and written a much prized monograph, *De Simulacris Barbararum Gentium apud Romanos*, with opposing pages in Polish and German, from which I venture to transcribe some of the latter. After discussing the seated type of woman barbarian, often intended generically as a personification of her entire nation, Bienkowski passes to the related standing type and thus to the Thusnelda in the following incisive passage:

<sup>1</sup> *Antike Denkmäler* II 22.



Die Hauptrepräsentantin <sup>1</sup> desselben [sc. Typus] ist die sogenannte Thusnelda in der Loggia dei Lanzi in Florenz. Ueberlebensgrösse. Feinkörniger, weisser Marmor. Neu: fast der ganze rechte Unterarm, Finger der l. Hand, l. Oberarm mit Schulter, l. Brustwarze, fast die ganze Nase und Einzelnes am Gewande. Der Oberkopf ist ange-  
 setzt, aber angeblich antik; das Haar hinten bestossen.... Der letztere [sc. Lucas] ist von Neuem für die Bezeichnung der Statue als Germania eingetreten, indem er sich nach dem Vorgang von Götting auf Tac. Germ. 17 be-  
 ruft: *Feminae saepius lineis amictibus velantur eosque purpura variant, partemque vestitus superioris in manicas non extendunt, nudae brachia ac lacertos; sed et proxima pars pectoris patet.* Indess dürften die letzten Worte nicht die Entblössung der einen Brusthälfte, wie sie sich hier vorfindet, bezeichnen, sondern die Nacktheit des oberen Theiles des Brustkorbes, wie sie an einigen Frauen der Marcussäule und an einer der Pamphilischen Provinzen vorkommt. Das Motiv der entblössen Brust ist vielmehr auf Rechnung der Trauer zu setzen. Auch die dicksohligen Gitterschuhe, welche, wie Lucas selbst nach dem Vorgang von Wolters hervorhebt, [auf] vielen Figuren pergamenischen Ursprungs sich finden, widersprechen der vorgeschlagenen Beziehung auf Germania. Der Künstler scheint den statuarischen Typus der Figur aus der pergamenischen Kunst übernommen und die ethnographische Charakteristik auf den Kopf beschränkt zu haben. Ihr Gesichtstypus, wie besonders die Haartracht stehen leider bis jetzt vereinzelt da. Weder germanische noch gallische Frauen zeigen irgendwelche nennenswerthe Aehnlichkeit, so dass man die Deutung der Thusneldastatue bis auf Weiteres offen lassen muss <sup>2</sup>.

There would seem to be very little left either of Thusnelda or of the German captive.

To the quotation from Tacitus should be added his preliminary remark that the German women in general dressed like the men <sup>3</sup>, i. e. in the coarse woolen cloak called *sagum*, above some sort of close-fitting undergarment (*veste . . . non fluitante . . . sed stricta et singulos artus exprimente*). The sleeveless linen, cut low above the breast, is therefore seemingly an indoor or summer alternative, or else we are to understand that the women wore the cloak, like the men, but substituted this sleeveless linen undergarment for the close-fitting and sleeved masculine equivalent. The entire passage from Tacitus has recently been minutely re-examined by Pasquali in *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica* <sup>4</sup>. In the final five pages of this article will be found a survey of the monumental evidence for the German women's dress, which transpires wholly divergent from the Thusnelda. Pasquali reduces the German elements in Thusnelda to one bared breast and two wisps of hair on the forehead, without, however, in any way abandoning the traditional position that she is German: he thus agrees completely with Bienkowski. Actually (as all investigators admit) Thusnelda is wearing none of the characteristic garments of Tacitus' description or of the accepted monumental representations, but a good Greek closed peplos with overfold. Only the scarf-like accessory or *chlaina* is unusual. If she has unfastened her peplos on one shoulder and let it drop to expose the breast, this is only what any Greek mother might do to nurse an infant. It has nothing to do with the costume as such, but only with the wearer's momentary needs, mood, or wishes.

The shoes are certainly striking and unusual, and hence deliberate and significant. Much more than the scarf or *chlaina*, they mark the wearer as "barbarian" in the good Greek sense of non-Hellenic. The soles are unusually thick and have attached to them a sort of openwork foot-casing of radiating strips of leather set very close and gathered together across the ridge of the foot. Gallic shoes seem to display very considerable variety <sup>5</sup>, so that it would be impossible to deny that these of Thusnelda might be so clas-  
 sed; but the same type may be traced considerably further back in Greek art than the Pergamenian parallels mentioned by Bienkowski and others. On a very fine fourth-century Canosa vase in Munich <sup>6</sup> they are worn by Medea who, dressed in Oriental costume and with sword drawn, is slaying one of her sons.

In the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori there is set against a wall of this "cortile" a series of reliefs supposed to derive from the Hadrianeum of Antoninus Pius and to personify the various provinces of the Roman Empire <sup>7</sup>. There is one of these <sup>8</sup> which mildly suggests Thusnelda, except that she has crossed forearms, sleeved peplos with overfold, and cloak or *sagum* fastened on the right shoulder; but she wears ordinary close-fitting shoes. Whereas, in all the series, there is only one province with Thusnelda's shoes on her feet — and she wears a Phrygian cap on her head <sup>9</sup>. Could there be a better indication that, in the conventions of Greek art, Thusnelda's shoes mark her for an Asiatic Oriental?

<sup>1</sup> In view of the outcome, one cannot help glancing at the Polish equivalent, *główną przedstawicielką*, to make sure that the author has used his language correctly!

<sup>2</sup> BIEŃKOWSKI, *De Simulacris*, p. 36, p. 38.

<sup>3</sup> *Nec alius feminis quam viris habitus, nisi quod feminae saepius lineis, etc.*

<sup>4</sup> XVI (1940) 129-63.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. DAREMBERG-SAGLIO s. v. *gallica*.

<sup>6</sup> FURTWÄNGLER-REICHHOLD, pl. 90.

<sup>7</sup> A recent discussion of these reliefs will be found in JOCELYN M. C. TOYNBEE, *The Hadrianic School*, 152-9, with pertinent bibliography p. 153 n. 1.

<sup>8</sup> TOYNBEE, pl. xxxiv. 3 = BIEŃKOWSKI, fig. 71. She is interpreted as *Gallia* by Toynbee, p. 158.

<sup>9</sup> TOYNBEE, pl. xxxiv. 2 = BIEŃKOWSKI, fig. 69; the shoes, fig. 70 a.



Bieńkowski's inference from the supposed Pergamenian character of the shoes to the Pergamenian origin of the statuary type of Thusnelda was obviously ill-considered and unfortunate, since there is nothing whatever Pergamenian about the figure. A little morphological analysis will very soon show whence the inspiration really comes.

Certainly, the "ethnographical characterisation" which, having completely evaporated from the rest of the figure, took final refuge in the head, cannot reside in the long wavy tresses of unbound hair, half caught in a braided knot behind, nor in the strayed locks over the forehead. There remains, then, only the "Teutonic" face, whose minutest details reappear in — the Amazon of Polykleitos.

There is an excellently careful version of this Amazon head in the Museo dei Conservatori (PL. 22). On comparison with corresponding views of the Thusnelda head (*ibid.*), it will be seen that the formation of the neck and the tilt of the head are the same. Long flat cheeks lead suddenly to the narrow elliptical front of the face, in which the large features take up a disproportionate space. The lower lip protrudes and sharply contrasts its simple curvature against the Cupid's bow of the narrower upper lip. The nose (in spite of restorations) is sharply edged, with a flat ridge leading without a true bridge but with a lightly curving break into the smooth surface of the forehead. The eyebrows show a very depressed arc; and here a difference exists between the two heads, in that there is an actual angle between eyebrow and ridge of nose in the Thusnelda instead of the short sharp curve which effects this transition in the Amazon. The plane between eyebrow and upper eyelid is cut identically in both heads, narrowing to the upward bulge of the eye-socket and then widening again beyond the eye's outer corner, without turning over into the plane of the cheek in the fourth century manner. The upper eyelids are more prominent in the Amazon, but the pattern of the eye is the same in both heads. The ears disappear beneath the waving strands of hair, which run along the forehead in long loops (without the continuous naissance of new strands characteristic of fourth century sculpture) and terminate in a V-shaped parting which lends almost a sense of Gothic tracery to the resultant pattern of the forehead. In the Thusnelda a pair of loose wisps of hair struggle down from the parting to complicate the details without fundamentally changing the identity of design. The parting is carried conspicuously up over the crown of the head which, seen in profile, has the curiously flat skull-contour of the typical Polykleitan head. If the Amazons were intended as Asiatic foreigners, it is easy to see why the type should have been so faithfully reproduced for the Colchian Medea<sup>1</sup>.

But it is not a question of a Polykleitan Amazon's head borrowed and set upon some wholly alien creation. The Thusnelda is so perfect an exemplification of the Polykleitan manner throughout that it could with complete justice be claimed as a feminine canon, a female draped counterpart to the Doryphoros. This becomes immediately apparent to the spectator who examines the other three sides of the statue, which (so far as I remember) are never reproduced photographically. The statue will reveal itself as a square pier with flat faces, on which the four crucial aspects are carved. With very great skill, the harsh transitions at the four edges or corners of the pier are softened, so that the essential unity and volume of the figure become predominant. Said Pliny<sup>2</sup> of Polykleitos and Polykleitan statuary (no doubt echoing through Varro an earlier Greek verdict), *Proprium eius est uno crure ut insisterent signa excogitasse, quadrata tamen esse ea ait Varro et paene ad [unum?] exemplum*. From this dictum may be derived three essential requirements for any claimant classed as a Polykleitan statue: (1) it must display the Polykleitan ponderation in its pose, (2) it must approximate a square pier in its mass, (3) it must closely correspond to accepted Polykleitan work in its detail.

The Thusnelda is one of the most remarkably compact and self-contained compositions in our entire surviving repertory. Thanks to the crossing leg and the vertically pendent drapery, the bent elbows and hands pressed close to the body, there are no elements salient from the solid pier. On the side of the weight-leg, the shoulder is dropped, producing compression between armpit and hip; whereas on the other side, the lowered hip of the free-leg and the relatively higher shoulder produce the opposite effect of extension. The head turns gently toward the lowered shoulder. The Doryphoros displays the same ponderation, but with less compactness. The Capitoline Amazon offers a much more striking parallel. Here, except for the raised arm,

<sup>1</sup> Another interesting parallel may be found in the female head in the British Museum, which has been related to the cult statue of Hera made by Polykleitos for the Argive Heraion about 420 B. C. Although most of the details do

not resemble the Thusnelda as closely as do those of the Amazon head, there is an obvious general identity of type. Cf. *JHS* XXI (1901) 30-44, pls. II-III.

<sup>2</sup> *N. H.* XXXIV 56.



there is the same system of ponderation (though in reverse) and the same astonishing compactness. In an article on the Amazons in the *Jahrbuch* for 1915<sup>1</sup> Noack has supplied a most illuminating diagram in which two superimposed cross sections together with other pertinent details have been taken from each of the three well-known Amazon types, — Berlin (= Lansdowne-Metropolitan), Capitoline, and Mattei. Such cross-sections are of the utmost utility but, being troublesome to make, are almost non-existent for ancient statuary. From these by Noack it becomes immediately apparent that the Capitoline Amazon differs from the others in certain notable particulars. The cross-section at the thighs falls almost identically with the cross-section through the breast, and both approximate a perfect square — thus proving the likeness of the statue to a vertical pier. Similar cross-sections of the Thusnelda (which I am unfortunately not in a position to supply) would display a striking similarity and might even exceed those of the Capitoline Amazon in geometrical rigor. In passing, it should be noticed on Noack's diagrams that, while the Mattei Amazon has extended the square into a rectangle, the Berlin Amazon has completely abandoned angularity in favor of an elliptical contour. In so far as such graphic proofs are valid, there is here a perfect demonstration of the later date of the Berlin-Lansdowne type and of the correctness of the claim of the Capitoline type to belong to Polykleitos<sup>2</sup>.

As for stylistic details, the minute similarity between the heads of Thusnelda and the Capitoline Amazon has already been discussed. The anatomical treatment of the arms and breast, without specific muscular articulation or linear detail, in terms rather of slowly moving surfaces over large quiet masses, is in striking agreement. The drapery of the Thusnelda is very linear, with a preference for a multiplicity of low ridges and furrows. Straight parallel lines and occasional simple catenaries predominate. The result is quite unlike the normal Attic tradition of the late fifth century, but is derivable from the close linear manner of the Capitoline Amazon. In both, the drapery is reasonably interpretable as a marble rendering of the bronze-style of the Peloponnese; but whereas the Amazon is almost certainly taken from a bronze original, the absence of the shallow crinkle-folds reflecting incisions in bronze or of thin sheaths of pendent drapery, taken with the absence of all projections beyond the natural boundaries of an original block of stone, makes it uncertain whether the Thusnelda is taken from bronze or marble. That she is a Roman copy produced in a good period may, in either event, be taken as certain. Very significant is the crimped edge which marks the selvage of the garment, most conspicuous just beyond the fingers of the left hand. This recurs so frequently on marble originals from the time of the Parthenon until the early fourth century, and is elsewhere so rare that it may be taken almost as a hallmark of this period. As for the general drapery manner, the extreme closeness of the ridges to one another, the numerous furrows which, unlike the ridges, abruptly end in mid-career, and the general impression of shallow crumpled cloth without cross folds, are all characteristic of the bronze style of the last third of the fifth century B. C.

The only possible conclusion would seem to be that the Thusnelda is a direct copy from a work in the Polykleitan manner. If the original of the Capitoline Amazon is to be dated around 430 B. C., the original of the Thusnelda would most pertinently be assigned to the following decade. Its theme is in that case unmistakable. Thusnelda is the barbarian Medea meditating the murder of her children, and she is this, alas, in despite of such categorical verdicts as that of the authoritative Pauly-Wissowa which, as recently as 1931, in its article on Medea<sup>3</sup>, ventures to dogmatise that "die sogenannte Thusnelda in Florenz hat mit Medea nichts zu schaffen".

It is evident from this sudden and rather vehement denial that some one must have said that she *had*; and from the trouble which various German commentators on Thusnelda take to decry any possible connection it would seem that the suggestion had even made a very considerable impression. The offending hypothesis seems to originate with Milchhoefer and to lie concealed in a footnote to his *Winckelmannsprogramm* on "Die Befreiung des Prometheus"<sup>4</sup>. Here he pointed out that Callistratus in his literary description of a statue of Medea emphasised the unkempt hair<sup>5</sup>, that Thusnelda must be restored with a sword in her raised right hand

<sup>1</sup> *Jhb.* xxx (1915) 131-79, with *Beilage* I to p. 144.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. The arguments by Noack, *loc. cit.*, and the résumés by JOHNSON (*Lysippos*, 28-31) and BLÜMEL (*Kat. Sammlung antiker Sculpturen*, Berlin, vol. IV p. 39, to K 176).

<sup>3</sup> Vol. xv, part 1, 63.

<sup>4</sup> 42. *Programm zum Winckelmannsfeste d. arch. Ges. zu Berlin*, 1882, 37 f.

<sup>5</sup> CALLISTRATUS: *Descriptions*, 13: "Her hand was armed with the sword, being ready to minister to her passion as she hastens (σπευδούσα, here not of physical motion!) to her



and the empty sheath in her left, and that she shows a striking similarity with the "Medea" of the Peliad relief in the Lateran. Here was already everything essential to the correct identification of Thusnelda, except the one most important criterion of all, without which everything else is mere idle conjecture, — the criterion of sculptural style. For lack of it, Milchhoefer's suggestion was trodden underfoot and became anathema to all right-thinking archaeologists <sup>1</sup>.

Yet he was quite correct in maintaining that the Thusnelda had been wrongly restored, as she appears to us in the Loggia dei Lanzi, since the unmotivated pose is alien to Greek artistic tradition. On the Mourners' Sarcophagus from Sidon <sup>2</sup> an almost identical pose recurs, but the hands are occupied with a veil or mantle, not empty and idle. The right forearm of Thusnelda is modern, but cannot be far wide of the mark. It would be impossible to bring the hand to the chin which, in any case, as Milchhoefer pointed out, would show signs of any such attachment. Under the restored fingers of the left hand there is an emphatic empty vertical pocket in the drapery which makes it impossible to make the fingers grasp the garment and yet demands some object — long, flat, and narrow — to fill the space and motivate the gesture. The Lateran Peliad relief gives us a satisfactory solution and almost the only one which could be so regarded: the right hand holds aloft the drawn sword, the left clutches the empty sheath. The figure beyond doubt, like the Peliad of the relief, is contemplating murder.

Callistratus was a Late Roman exponent of rhetorical methods of description which he applied to the production of fourteen short essays, in each of which he sought to impart an emotional appreciation of some piece of statuary. In spite of the artificial and thoroughly literary tone, there is no reason for supposing that these pieces of statuary did not actually exist. Thus, the Kairos of Lysippos, the Maenad of Scopas, the Eros of Praxiteles, the colossus of Memnon, appear in this brief gallery. His Heliconian Orpheus surrounded by animals is vouched for by Pausanias. When Callistratus asserts that he "saw also the celebrated Medea in the Macedonian land", there is no evident reason to doubt his word. "It was of marble" <sup>3</sup>, he continues, and launches upon a rhetorical description of the blending of grief with anger, passion with pity, murderousness with motherhood, since it is the emotional pathos of the statues which he strives to extol. Yet when he declares that he finds in the eyes an expression "exactly as if the artist had modeled the woman's passionate impulse in imitation of the drama of Euripides", we may discount the author's invariable habit of reading life into his statues' eyes, without rejecting the pertinence of his comparison. For all authorities are in agreement that the production of Euripides' *Medea* in 431 B. C. caused a profound sensation and created, once for all, the personality of the murderess of her own children as unchangeably as Shakespeare may have set the character for Macbeth or Julius Caesar <sup>4</sup>. Euripides later took refuge in Macedonia, where his *Bacchai* was composed and where he enjoyed most signal respect and admiration at the art-loving court of King Archelaos. It is only the part of ordinary sound criticism to believe Callistratus that there was a celebrated marble statue of the brooding Medea, with loosened hair, mourning garb <sup>5</sup>, and sword in hand, standing in Macedon.

There is no way of discovering whether our Thusnelda is a copy of this Macedonian Medea, or what her relation may be to that "highly celebrated" work. Polykleitos for a time seems to have lived and worked with his pupils in Sikyon, whence their eyes could look across the coastal plain to the near-by familiar landmark of Acrocorinth. Often they must have visited the neighboring town and seen the mementoes of the Medea legend which stood near the market place of Corinth. There is nothing fantastic or far-fetched in supposing that echoes of Euripides' great tragedy came to their ears from Athens, or that one of them — master or pupil — was inspired to illustrate in statuary a legend far more locally familiar than that of the Amazons. But it is doubtful whether we shall ever learn more of all this than Thusnelda herself can tell us; for as

foul deed, and her hair was unkempt, a mark of squalor, and she wore a garment of mourning in conformity to the state of her soul". (Tr. Loeb Classical Library).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. however S. FERRI, *Sul Motivo della "Peliade Maggiora" nel Rilievo Lateranense*, in *Bollettino d'Arte*, xxx (1936-7) 296-306.

<sup>2</sup> HAMDY BEY & REINACH, *Une Nécropole Royale à Sidon*, pls. VIII-IX.

<sup>3</sup> Hence perhaps only a copy made for the Macedonian court?

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the judicious statement in Denys Page's edition of EURIPIDES' *Medea* (Oxford, 1938) on p. LVII of his Introduction.

<sup>5</sup> I. e. loosened to expose the breast? There was no specific dress worn by mourners.



this investigation has sought to show, there is nothing so precarious in the study of Greek sculpture as personal attributions.

The long digression on Thusnelda thus at the end leads back to the Peliad relief in the Lateran, whose genesis is now plain. Lacking a fixed iconographic precedent in the painter's repertory, the author of the relief created his theme by borrowing pertinent figures, in the manner of his craft. In her earlier adventures, Medea is usually shown as a foreigner in some sort of Asiatic garb. For the later episode in Corinth she is usually Hellenised, — in costume if not in spirit — perhaps because Euripides in his play so presented her. For the Peliad relief, I suspect that the colorless Medea in Phrygian cloak and headdress and tight shoes was more or less extemporised; the Peliad with the caldron had her source somewhere in the proximity of "Master B" of the Nike Temple Parapet; the Peliad with the sword, by a thoroughly natural train of thought, was adapted from the now famous statue of the Corinthian Medea, but the barbaric elements, being inappropriate to the Hellenic maiden, were expunged. A round Attic face and shorter hair were substituted, and the scarf and shoes were not emphasised. But the scarf, none the less, left its traces (PL. 21) in the curves of the crumpled drapery beneath and beside the prominent breast and in the uneasy swing of the cloth beneath which are plunged the hand and the sheath. Repeated reflection has convinced me that this cannot be part of the overfold, since the sheath passes underneath it yet is clearly shown above the curved edge of the overfold proper. The sculptor seems to have tried to assimilate the scarf as part of the peplos; but the strangely impossible pattern of the crumpled knot of cloth in the crook of the other elbow betrays the Thusnelda as his inspiration. In the same way the Asiatic footgear has been eliminated and the feet left bare as though for sandals, but the preternaturally thick soles of Thusnelda's shoes survive. Brunn and his adversaries were therefore both in the right: in the relief, the right-hand figure is not Medea, but a Peliad; but in origin, as an adaptation from a famous contemporary work of sculpture, she is Medea, and not a Peliad.

But if the figure on the relief was adapted from the statue in the round, why was the entire lower portion of the figure so completely altered? For a very simple reason: the Medea with her crossed feet and static pose could not assume a place as wing-figure in a classical three-figure relief. A glance at the series of such reliefs illustrated in Rodenwaldt's *Das Relief bei den Griechen*, — the Ludovisi throne, the Boston counterpart, the Villa Albani Leukothea, the great hieratic Eleusis relief, the Orpheus and Eurydice<sup>1</sup> — or the less important but still very fine Greek original displayed next to the Peliad relief in the Lateran, a three-figure relief of a bearded man and two youths in late-fifth century manner<sup>2</sup>, will show how invariable is the feeling for balance which demands that the outside figures face in, or move in, toward the central axis. The commonplace Athenian fifth-century theme of the revealed free-leg and heavily covered weight-leg was therefore applied to the statuary prototype, with the unfortunate results for the statics of the figure which have already been pointed out and which first roused our suspicion<sup>3</sup>.

It is valuable to have so clear an instance available, in order to guard against the very prevalent tendency to overestimate these Attic reliefs by mistaking for individual genius and creative power the borrowed glory of the original from which they were often only too slavishly derived. We constantly commit the same error — and for the same reason — in contemplating the wall-paintings of Pompeii.

But the most surprising thing about the Peliad relief in the Lateran, and the patent explanation of the high esteem in which it is so universally held, is the discovery that it is an Attic original. The student of Greek sculpture is so inured to discovering that the most vaunted Greek originals of the European galleries turn out, one by one, to be Roman copies, that it is with a shock of surprise that he stands before the Peliad relief and discovers, what no reproduction has ever suggested and no recent commentator claimed, that for once the process has been reversed and the supposedly Roman copy is, in every line and surface, Attic work of the finest period. The extreme variety in the depth of cutting, the constant variation of movement and emphasis, the liveness and crispness at every point, the use of the narrow chisel and the rasp for so many of the final surfaces, the total absence of the running drill, are all so many unchallengeable indications. Anyone who has spent years amid the Greek reliefs in Athens and then has come to Rome and wandered, a little alien and forlorn, amid the endless maze of Roman copies and adaptations,

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, pls. 64, 65, 66, 69, 98, 100.

<sup>2</sup> HELBIG, *Führer*<sup>2</sup>, n. 1204; cf. text to ARNDT-AMELUNG, *Einzelaufnahmen*, 757.

<sup>3</sup> If the lower leg below the knee were carried back and across in Thusnelda's manner, the figure would regain her balance.



*Das Land der Griechen mit der Seele suchend,*

coming upon the Peliad relief, instantly in a wave of nostalgia knows that he is back once more in the beauty of the Attic world.

In the course of his discussions on *Das Relief bei den Griechen*, Rodenwaldt makes the shrewd observation that the Romans were not attracted to the Greek reliefs as they were to Greek statues and that there are hardly any such reliefs to be found in the Roman villas and collections. The truth of this remark makes it all the more extraordinary to find so exquisite an example of early fourth century Attic work in a Roman museum. As already remarked, the small relief adjacent (No. 1204 in Helbig-Amelung's *Führer*<sup>3</sup>) is likewise a Greek original, though certainly not Attic, and the large three-sided basis with the choregic reliefs which was found in the Forum (No. 1191 in Helbig-Amelung), though later in style, must surely also be Attic. But it is none the less true that there is very little of original Greek work among the reliefs in the Roman public galleries. Of our Peliad relief, Amelung held that it could not be *das Original aus jener Zeit, weil die ganze Zeichnung etwas schief, nach links hängend, auf die Tafel gebracht ist*<sup>1</sup>. We have tried to show that precisely this peculiarity is the most informative element about this most interesting piece, since it betrays it as an adaptation from major sculptural sources of its time.

With the Lateran Marsyas, the Protesilaos, and the Peliad Relief, it has been possible to gain at least a glimpse into the unknown decades with which the fourth century opened. It would be tempting to continue to follow the chronological sequence by assigning to their proper place within the century the originals of the numerous Roman copies from that period of intense sculptural activity. But our present-day understanding of Greek fourth century sculpture is chaotic. So great and so familiar a figure as Skopas possesses no intelligible coherence. If it was he who carved the pediments for Athena Alea at Tegea (which no ancient author pretends), then he can hardly be responsible for any of the surviving sculpture of the Mausoleum. Again, for Lysippos, many have found it in their power to reconcile the Agias at Delphi with the Apoxyomenos in the Vatican; but the task grows ever less easy, the more conscientiously it is attempted. And the habit of distributing all sculpture of apparent fourth century style under only three categories, headed by the magic names of Praxiteles, Skopas, and Lysippos, has only made it more difficult to grasp the true stylistic evolution of the period. In the face of an utter absence of system and a discouraging paucity of fixed chronological and stylistic attachment-points, it is not even the part of courage to persist. I must abandon therefore, as momentarily hopeless, the evidence for fourth century Greek sculpture so abundantly presented by the Roman museums and revert to my opening enquiry into the possibility of discovering ancient names for modern survivors out of the great sculptural wreckage of the classical world.

A certain number of essential preconditions for any attribution to a known sculptor or for any identification with a recorded statue have emerged from the present study. Chief of all requirements is stylistic fitness to the chronological demands. Thus the Lateran Marsyas could not be identified with Myron, if only because a statue of early-fourth century style cannot be attributed to a sculptor, none of whose work can be proved to be later than *ca.* 450 B. C. A second requirement almost equally essential is that of uniqueness of theme, or action, or accessory, by which a selection can be made among all possible competitors for the title. Thus it was required of the Protesilaos of the Hellespont that he should be an armed hero wearing a Thesalian *chlaina* and mounted on the bow of a ship; of Myron's Diskobolos it was necessary that he could be illuminatingly described in Quintilian's phrase *quid tam distortum, quid tam elaboratum?* But the Apoxyomenos of Lysippos should not be too easy to identify with any approach to certainty, because the theme may have been a commonplace of athletic sculpture, no description from antiquity distinguishes this particular version from its possible fellows, and our knowledge of Lysippos' style is either itself based on the very statue which

<sup>1</sup> HELBIG-AMELUNG, *Führer*<sup>3</sup>, II p. 8.



is being sought or else, if based on the Agias, brings no reassurance. Yet there is a statue in Rome which seems to possess all the needed requirements to make it a profitable example of attribution to an ancient sculptor, since it represents an unusual and, as far as our sculpture galleries are concerned, a unique theme, its chronology may be extremely plausibly established stylistically, as well as its sculptural school, and an ancient statue corresponding exactly in theme, chronology, and school is recorded by Pliny. Yet strangely enough, though Furtwängler himself with all the authority of his maturity made the identification, everyone seems to have preferred to ignore or forget his unobjectionable attribution of the

### Fanciulla d'Anzio <sup>1</sup>

(PLATE 23).

In view of the vast amount of discussion, oral as well as printed, which the Fanciulla has occasioned during the sixty years of her modern life (the first twenty of which she passed, however, in very modest obscurity), only a few purely technical observations dare claim attention here, together with a single important conclusion arising from these observations.

As others have seen and said, the style points unmistakably and very directly to the opening years of the third century B. C. and the late Lysippan School — a school more remarkable for its bronzes than its marbles. There must, of course, have been marble-workers affiliated with this group of artists; yet a most remarkable characteristic of the Fanciulla is, none the less, the repeated indications of a bronze ancestry which she consistently and emphatically displays.

It is typical of the bronze tradition to assemble accessories which would permit of separate forming and casting. Thus the boy from Marathon Bay <sup>2</sup>, who gives us our closest glimpse of a bronze original in the intimate environment of Praxiteles, once carried an object on his outstretched left hand — a tray or a basket, to judge from the deducible measurements — which had been cast independently and then riveted into place on the palm of the hand. The mysterious gesture of the other arm and hand, which seems to throw the composition off centre, is best explained by supplying a taenia or some similar ribbon-like accessory <sup>3</sup>, to be soldered to the minute piece of free metal which still appears between thumb and forefinger. Marble-workers did not traffic in such attached details: their natural interest in working from the single block made repulsive to them those solutions which with equal logic so attracted the bronze-casters. The Fanciulla's tray (PL. 23 B) is the clearest possible example of this accumulation of discrete objects such as would delight the worker in bronze and repel the worker in marble. The "parchment", or far more probably papyrus, roll thrusts its paper-thin open end over the tray, to the despair of the cutter, who could not safely make it thinner than a heavy wool blanket — thus misleading Furtwängler into identifying it as a woollen fillet, which it most certainly is not <sup>4</sup>. The lost tripod, thymiaterion, or whatever it was which stood with tiny lion's claw feet upon the tray, could have been a gem of casting and engraving in bronze, but only a wasted *tour de force* when hewn out of the same block of marble as the tray and all the other objects upon it.

On the figure's left there hangs almost to the ankle a sheath-like fold of drapery which is cut free from the main draped mass for most of its length and only attached thereto by a tiny strut near the bottom <sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Unusually well illustrated Br.-Br. 583-4. Excellent summary discussion in HELBIG-AMELUNG, *Führer* <sup>2</sup> II pp. 140-6.

<sup>2</sup> *Antike Denkmäler* IV pls. 30-7.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. HEIDENREICH, *Leipziger Winckelmannsfeier* 1931.

<sup>4</sup> *Münch. Jhb. bild. Kunst*, 1907 <sup>2</sup>, p. 3. Cf. the papyrus rolls in the hands of the young boy and the woman beside him in the fresco of the Villa of the Mysteries (MAIURI, *La Villa dei Misteri*, pls. I and II and, more clearly, fig. 47 in the text).

<sup>5</sup> Not visible in Br.-Br. 583; cf. *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, 1907 <sup>2</sup>, fig. 1.



Since the left back is cursorily finished and hence does not represent an important aspect of the statue, it is hard to see what end the marble-worker gained by this tedious, and for marble inappropriate, procedure. The entire lower hem of the garment is treated in similar fashion as a thin wall of material, obviously equivalent to the traditional thickness of cast statuary metal, somewhat increased to overcome its fragility in marble. This thin "wall" involved the hollowing-out and hewing-away of the entire core of the block of stone, leaving a passage around and behind the left heel, a huge cavity behind the sheath of drapery touching the ground between the feet, and a gallery leading out under the raised right heel. The marble-worker has given himself every possible trouble in order to destroy the solidity of the statue's contact with its base. This would be in accord with very good, because technically wholly rational, bronze traditions, but an utter violation of the statics of stone.

The drapery treatment employs two completely different devices, one to indicate the rise and fall of the folds, the other to indicate the texture of the surface. This latter has probably been most generally taken as a sculptor's conventional device for a long-haired fleece or woolen garment with heavy nap. But the indication is not uniform. Over the right leg it takes the form of shallow long-drawn wavy incisions, while on the vertical pendants near the other leg the effect is more of flat vertical ribbons with no suggestion of long hairs, nap, or fleece. I think it will be found that wherever shallow crinkly incisions of this general type occur, they will always exist in combination with some other indication of a bronze prototype. They are the marble reproduction of the low graved line, cut in the bronze after the casting and the first filing, to break up the strong reflections where such highlights are disturbing or unwanted. They have no particular meaning in marble, where the whole epidermis is penetrated and suffused with light.

The actual furrows, in terms of which the drapery is modeled, have largely been cut with the drill, whose traces here and there remain with unexpected crudeness, — so, particularly, in the roll of drapery around the waist, which passes beneath the tray. It is not permissible to lay much stress on this detail (or on the perfunctory execution of much of the back of the statue), since we are not yet sufficiently sure of our ground in these matters to say how far an original conception in marble might have permitted their presence.

The head, neck, and nude shoulder are (as everyone knows) carved from a different piece of marble, which does not accurately fit the main block. This additional piece is said to be of a finer quality of stone; but all that is certain is that it has been more carefully finished, as befits its subject-matter. The right arm below the drapery was made separately and doweled into place (PL. 23 B), thus leaving a narrow passage of the main block, carved as drapery, between the two added pieces carved as nude (perhaps out of a more costly quality of marble). It is hard to draw any compelling inference from this curious behavior. Heads carved in separate pieces and inserted into draped bodies cannot have been uncommon, especially in Hellenistic times. A well-known example, the Demeter of Knidos in the British Museum, must (because of the classicising head and the shallow linear drapery) be very late (*ca.* 100 B. C. ?); an equally cogent parallel, the Aphrodite of Melos, cannot be more than a generation earlier; we have other examples from Pergamon and Delos; but I cannot recall any pertinent instance of an undoubted original so pieced together as early as 300 B. C.

The lovely and universally admired face of the Fanciulla shows the clear surfaces and detached forms of the glyptic tradition which, quite as much as the full torsion in the pose, makes the chronological identification around 300 B. C. so generally acceptable. But in the hair, just as in the drapery, the indications fall in two wholly disparate grades or levels, one belonging to the modeling (the plastic, rather heavy strands), the other to the surface graving (the very fine striations). No member of one of this disparate pair ever goes over into the opposing category (as naturally would be expected, where all is mere cutting out of the same piece of marble), because the first set belongs to the plastic stage of clay or wax modeling before casting, the other to the cold chiseling after the mould has been broken. The delicacy of relief of the fine wisps on the neck and in front of the right ear is also in the purest tradition of bronze.

Finally, the distinction in polish between the lustrous nude portions and the dull *matte* finish of the drapery may be correctly claimed as an echo of a similar distinction which is automatically enforced by the material itself in statues made of bronze. We have already seen that the polished Youth from Subiaco was found on the site of a Neronian villa; and to this same category the Fanciulla too belongs.

The proper conclusion from all these observations is that the Fanciulla is an excellent version of a bronze prototype.



There is a strong modern prejudice against copies as works of art. In so far as it is based on the miserable commercial output to be found among the lesser treasures of most European museums and by no means absent from Rome itself, the prejudice is well founded. But a category which has included in a single museum the Venus of Cyrene, the Youth from Subiaco, and the Hygieia head from the Palatine may be allowed to welcome the Fanciulla without demeaning its beauty or its importance. It is quite obvious that marble versions of surpassing loveliness were produced in antiquity, especially to duplicate the more costly bronzes, whose technical fate it was that only one example could be cast from the original mould.

If these observations and their pertinent conclusion be accepted, we shall gain more than we shall lose; for though we shall lose an authentic original, we shall gain a known work under the name of a known master.

In the *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* for 1907<sup>2</sup> (p. 9) Furtwängler was (I believe) the first to make the suggestion that the Fanciulla was the *epithyusa* of Phanis, Lysippos' pupil, catalogued by Pliny, "... *Phanis Lysippi discipulus epithyusan*" [*fecit*] (*N. H.* xxxiv 80). The suggestion had everything to recommend it and only one thing to disprove it utterly (unless one also confessed to be of the sect of those who see in the Fanciulla a boy, — the Greek participle being unappealably feminine). To recommend it, there was the practical certainty, slowly attained by converging agreement among the scholars, that the statue belonged to the immediate Lysippan School and, with less unanimity but with considerable claim to authority, that it represented an acolyte or female attendant at some religious rite, in short an *epithyusa*.

Pliny would hardly have copied the Greek title, had there been a ready Latin equivalent. *Camillam* or *puellam sacrificantem* must therefore be incorrect renderings, else Pliny would have used one of them. Strangely, our English tongue also is rather at a loss, or else our scholarship is hesitant, in finding a precise sense for ἐπιθύουσάν. "One (*feminine*) who helps to perform the rites at a sacrifice" or perhaps better "she who attends to the incense burning", rather than the simpler "female sacrificial attendant", appears to be the connotation of the unusual term. In either event, our Fanciulla seems very pertinently described, with her written ritual<sup>1</sup>, her lustral branch, her incense-burner (if such it be, as seems most probable), her apparent action of putting incense grains upon the coals of her censer, as Furtwängler very plausibly explained the action<sup>2</sup>. Everything fits to perfection; and the unusual theme, aptly described by the unique title, seems to guarantee against confusion with any other similar statue. Yet Furtwängler's striking suggestion went unheeded and found no acceptance because of a single fatal flaw, — the *epithyusa* of Phanis was listed by Pliny in his catalogue of statues made of *bronze*.

And yet a statue of bronze is precisely what the Fanciulla implies for whoever cares to scrutinise closely the tell-tale indications. Surely Furtwängler's suggestion is entirely correct save for the slight modification that in the Fanciulla we have, not the actual *epithyusa* of Phanis, but a competent and exquisite marble replica thereof.

It is permissible to conclude that this marble version was made in Rome, since it must have been copied carefully and directly from the original bronze, which latter may safely be assumed to have stood in Rome for a highly pertinent reason. Pliny's catalogue of famous bronze workers is alphabetical; but the arrangement follows the Latin and not the Greek sequence of the letters. Thus the "K"s are listed in third place as "C"s, and Phanis appears among the "P"s, thereby suggesting that the list was not copied from a Greek source, but was Pliny's own compilation. In the list are a number of works expressly stated to be in Rome — Baton's Apollo and Hera in the Temple of Concord, Hegias' Castor and Pollux before the Temple of Jupiter Tonans, Leochares' Zeus with the thunderbolt on the Capitol, and the Asklepios and Hygieia of Nikeratos in the Temple of Concord, — though there are also others expressly stated to be elsewhere; but Phanis appears only with this single entry, as though the work itself rather than the artist's accomplishments were familiar, and at the end of the catalogue Pliny adds, "The best of all the works I have mentioned have now been dedicated at Rome by the emperor Vespasian in the temple of Peace and in his other galleries, Nero having first brought them by the strong hand to Rome, and placed them in the apartments of the Golden House"<sup>3</sup>. We are hardly bound to think that every statue thus dedicated was derived from Nero's plunder;

<sup>1</sup> Cf. again the Villa of the Mysteries, where the boy rehearses the ritual from a papyrus roll (MAIURI, *op. cit.*, pl. 1).

<sup>2</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> PLINY, *N. H.*, xxxiv 84 tr. Jex-Blake.



but the discovery of the Fanciulla on the very site of Nero's villa at Antium at least makes possible the theory that a favorite statue in his town apartments was carefully reproduced in marble, to be a companion in *villeggiatura*. Is it overstepping archaeological proprieties to wonder whether the dissolute emperor considered his companion a girl or a boy?

The presumptive evidence in favor of Furtwängler's brilliant identification is therefore very great, while of counter-evidence (unless the girl be indeed a boy) there is none at all.

### Hellenistic sculpture

Rome is not the place in which to study Hellenistic sculpture, which is indeed so singularly badly represented that some explanation must be sought for so pointed an omission. If reference be made to the outline of Roman taste in sculpture, hastily sketched during our discussion of the Esquiline Venus, it will be seen that such an explanation is ready to hand. While Hellenistic Sculpture was being produced, during its great phases from the idealistic-naturalistic school of Lysippos to the baroque exuberance of the late-second century B. C., Rome was indifferent to contemporary art; and when finally it awoke, toward the end of the Republic, to the enjoyment of the astounding Greek sculptural achievement, Hellenistic sculpture had entered a retrospective and classicistic phase and its creative force was all but spent. A few great artists still lived and worked, but in the reminiscential manner which makes the head of Laokoon appear to belong to the Pergamene School of the Great Altar or makes us see a deliberate exaggeration of Polykleitan power in the Hellenistic Ruler and of Pheidias greatness in the Seated Boxer.

What native Roman sculpture may have been produced in Latium while Hellenistic art was running its spectacular course in the eastern Mediterranean must be left to more specifically qualified students to discover and explain. But that the course of art was not running parallel in the two regions may be inferred from the absence of portraits on Roman coins, since even if Republican habit and tradition were contrary to such monarchical procedure, realistic likenesses would in some form or other have invaded the Roman dies, had there been any widespread appreciation or knowledge of the sensational advance of portraiture in the Hellenic lands. When Titus Quinctius Flamininus carried the Roman arms against Philip V of Macedon, he seems to have issued coins to pay his troops in the enemy's land and himself, — to apply the old Latin maxim, — though captor fell captive to the art of those whom he assailed; for on his coins we find a Hellenistic portrait of the Roman consul of 198 B. C. But for a second portrait on a Roman coin we must wait many a generation until Rome was indeed captive to Greek culture in the final decades of the Republic. To that period, the time of Pompey and Caesar and the succeeding generation of Agrippa and Vergil and Augustus, we can profitably turn in order to resume the study of the evolution of Greek sculpture; but we shall get no profit out of our enquiry unless we first succeed in seizing the fundamental evolutionary phases of the sculptural art of portraiture in general. Roman Imperial portraits may very correctly be studied as a self-contained discipline; but no one should venture on the portraiture of the Late Republic who has not understood how and whence this art came to Italy. To believe that it was a mere inheritance from Etruscan art coupled with a native Roman sense for realism, is to set oneself the insoluble task of resuscitating some sort of great native sculptural tradition throughout the second century B. C. to be its proximate parent. The only passable path therefore leads away from the Roman museums into the Hellenistic lands further east, where at present the whole study of Greek portrait sculpture threatens to come to a standstill or even to a complete breakdown because of a failure to put proper emphasis on morphological evolution. Something better might be expected if only we would teach the oncoming generation of younger scholars that the periods and phases of sculpture are not mere mannerisms due to changing tastes and fancies, but essential elements in a necessary and ordered coherence of technical advances. The Hellenistic period in particular is still a wilderness,



and not merely in the realm of portraiture. However, the clearest trail through its present disorder is offered by the proper study of portraits, since the technique of physiognomical expression (which makes portraits in the sense of human likenesses possible) was not adequately mastered until the Hellenistic Age. It is not an exaggeration to say that, however much the preceding Classical Era may deserve the supreme rank in other respects, we cannot deny to the over-despised Hellenistic Age the claim to have invented and perfected the art of human portraiture.

Such an emphatic statement disagrees with a certain bias in current professional opinion and seems to have against it the important authority of Pliny. Our standard English translation of the elder Pliny's chapters on the history of art, by introducing a good deal of subjective exegesis into its rendering, would have us believe that Lysistratus, the brother of Lysippus (and hence indisputably active before the end of the fourth century B. C.), "obtained portraits by making a plaster mould on the actual features, and introduced the practice of taking from the plaster a wax cast on which he made the final corrections". Here is physiognomic realism with a vengeance, and already in existence at the very start of the Hellenistic Age! Yet the immediately following sentence which opens with, "He also first rendered likenesses with exactitude", should put us on our guard, since no one uses "*also*" to introduce a weakened repetition of a statement already made.

As the passage is crucial for the history of realism in the classical sculptural technique, and as exception has just been taken to a standard translation, there is an obvious obligation to attempt a more faithful English version.

Actually, it would seem that the translation should have read more nearly as follows:

PLINY, *N. H.*, xxxv 153.

"But to the Sicyonian Lysistratus, a brother of the Lysippus of whom we have already spoken, was due the practice of correcting and improving the rendering of the human form by taking it in plaster from the living model<sup>1</sup> and then pouring wax into this plaster cast<sup>2</sup>. He was also the first to make actual portraits: before his time the aim was to make the faces as beautiful as possible. The same artist also discovered how to make casts of entire statues, a procedure which grew so general that neither divine or human images were any longer made without the use of clay models".

To support the correctness of such a rendering, a few comments on the Latin text are unavoidable. The accepted (and apparently unchallenged) text runs:

*Homini autem imaginem gypso e facie ipsa primus omnium expressit ceraque in eam formam gypsi infusa emendare instituit Lysistratus Sicyonius, frater Lysippi de quo diximus. hic et similitudines reddere instituit, ante eum quam pulcherrimas facere studebatur [al. studebant]. idem et de signis effigies exprimere invenit, crevitque res in tantum ut nulla signa statuave sine argilla fierent. quo apparet antiquiorem hanc fuisse scientiam quam fundendi aeris.* (*N. H.*, xxxv 153).

Here there is much which may be misinterpreted. I add my own understanding of the various phrases, seeking to avoid the more patent errors:

*Homini imaginem* refers to the entire man, not merely to his features. There is a slightly illogical shift of meaning, but no possible misunderstanding, in making it the object of both *expressit* and *emendare instituit* (which latter would otherwise be left without any object of reference). *e facie ipsa* has nothing to do with the human face: cf. Gellius' admirable definition (xiii 30, 2), *quidam faciem esse hominis putant os tantum et oculos et genas, quod Graeci πρόσωπον dicunt: quando facies sit forma omnis et modus et factura quaedam corporis totius*. *expressit* carries the literal flavor of *premere*, and both here and in *exprimere* below is clearly the technical word for making a cast by means of a mould. *infusa* implies pouring; hence a wax-coated mould from which to cast a bronze in *cire perdue* is not involved, but only a wax positive to be used as a study-piece and guide in modeling. *hic et similitudines* from its emphatic *et* clearly shows that *similitudines* are a new and different subject: the previous sentence does not discuss facial portraits, this sentence does. *pulcherrimas* must agree with *similitudines*, which is illogical but understandable. *idem et* is emphatically taken away from Lysistratus and referred back to a preceding Butades by the translator and commentator of our English edition, which not merely is an arbitrary procedure, but obviously is impossible historically because Pliny's previous remark that Butades "was the first to put masks as antefixes on eaves" carries him back into the remotest archaic period, when plaster casts of statues are out of the question. *de signis effigies* means literally "copies of statues"; *exprimere* shows that these copies were casts. *crevitque res in tantum* unfortunately gives us no hint of the lapse of time involved; but if Pliny is correct in ascribing an extensive use of plaster-casting from statuary and from the human form to the immediate school of Lysippus, the resultant *nulla signa sine argilla* necessarily becomes a Hellenistic slogan. *signa statuave* may not actually contain the contrast implied in my translation, in which case "statuary of any sort" would better suit the intent of Pliny's redundant phrase. He could hardly have said more clearly that even marble statues were now cut from clay models (naturally through the intermediary of plaster casts, since one cannot point-off directly from

<sup>1</sup> I. e. to produce a negative.

<sup>2</sup> I. e. to produce a positive with which to compare his own work.



the wet clay). The English commentator's remark that "the use of clay models for marble statues seems to have been of altogether later date" follows from her misascription of all this activity to the archaic Butades. "Clay models for marble statues" are precisely what Pliny is talking about here. Pliny's text thereafter continues, *quo apparet antiquiorem hanc fuisse scientiam quam fundendi aeris*. If *quo* refers to the immediately preceding account of Lysistratus' technical innovations, the rest of the sentence certainly does not follow logically. Probably for this reason the English commentator wished to take *idem* back to Butades. Since this is altogether inadmissible, *quo* can only refer back loosely to the whole preceding discussion on *plastic*.

We begin the Hellenistic period, therefore, with the information that plaster casts were being made both from the living model and from extant statuary, and we learn that the use of casts spread to such an extent that it became habitual to model all statuary first in clay (whence plaster casts could be taken, to be either pointed-off in marble or re-cast in bronze by the *cire perdue* process). In short, we have fully adumbrated the modern technical procedure with its implicit distinction between the modeling artist and the executant artisan. The consequent shift of popular emphasis away from the latter and toward the former had already occurred by the second quarter of the first century B. C. when, as Pliny quoting Marcus Varro assures us, "even artists would pay more for the clay models (*proplasmata*) of Arkesilaos, the protégé of Lucius Lucullus, than for the completed works of others" <sup>1</sup>.

We thus can derive from Pliny the end-points of an important technical advance. The use of plaster casts as an aid to sculptural production was initiated at the very beginning of the Hellenistic period; while the ultimate but inevitable divorce of the modeling artist from the executant cutter or caster was in force by that period's close, when the Roman artistic market supplanted the Greek. What we do not learn from Pliny is the speed of evolution of this process, the chronology of its various steps and stages. These we must derive (if we can) from the surviving works of art themselves.

The crucial moment in this whole procedure is the substitution (which is necessarily involved) of the plastic for the glyptic approach. There is so little comment on this vital event in any of our handbooks and histories of sculpture that its character and significance must form a part of the present study.

It hardly needs to be pointed out that the initial approach to sculpture in the early archaic period was glyptic, in the sense that the statue was conceived as within the block of stone, which only needed to be cut down to its appropriate levels. Contour lines defined the trimming and hewing to be done; interior lines, for grooving and furrowing, produced the detail within these boundaries; abrasion and polishing revealed the final surface. Most of the schematic formulae and archaic qualities of early Greek sculpture are directly attributable to this technique of cutting into a solid block, indeed, they are only thus explicable at all. And yet, paradoxical as it must seem, the very same characteristics appear with equal precision and persistence in the bronze work of the period. This can be explained only on the assumption that even for bronze the formative creative stage was glyptic and that consequently the model from which the casting-mould was taken had been cut into shape from a solid substance, not modeled from a fluid one. In complete agreement with this seemingly improbable assumption, recent interesting studies by Kluge and Lehmann-Hartleben postulate for the period up to the second quarter of the fifth century B. C. the use of carved wooden positives from which negative impressions were taken to make the moulds. The natural (but erroneous) inference might be that after this process was abandoned in favor of the wax-covered core in the course of the fifth century B. C., the essential character of the bronze statuary would change, taking on some of the fluid and plastic quality of the new medium. Yet this is emphatically not the case. The error lies in thinking that the wax was in truth the basic creative medium, rather than merely a stage in the technical manufacture of the statue. Throughout the fifth and fourth centuries there is no fundamentally different approach, whether the medium of execution was marble or bronze. It is a matter of everyone's common experience that, though there are general but rather minor principles to guide us, it is not immediately obvious whether the Greek original of a Roman copy was of metal or of stone. This is so, not because the copyist in marble naturally substituted the marble-cutter's methods and effects for those of the bronze originals, but because there really was no essential difference to be discovered. In bronze, the ease with which details and accessories could be cast separately and assembled, as opposed to the annoyance of cutting such little extraneous elements out of the solid block of marble, leaves its trace on the composition. The impenetrability of bronze which makes of its surface a mirror for high-lights, instantly destroyed by the shallowest engraving, contrasted with the lucid depths of the periphery of a marble block, determined a difference of emphasis in the graven surfaces. The

<sup>1</sup> N. H., xxxv 155.



greater fragility of marble made obligatory a better support than a mere pair of human ankles could impart to a statue. By such tests as these, we believe that we can decide the issue whether the prototype of a marble copy was of bronze or of marble, — indeed, we have already tried to do so for the *Fanciulla d'Anzio*; but none of these touch the essential sculptuary style, which remains in either case *glyptic*.

Consider the two Lysippan heads on PLATE 24. Both may be taken from bronze originals, but there is no infallible proof of such an assertion. Whether bronze or marble, the heads belong in the uncontaminated glyptic tradition of the classical age. Every feature of the face is based on a pattern form. The head exists by enumeration of all these pattern forms, almost as in verbal utterance a speaker might name eyes, eyelids, eyebrows, nose, nostrils, mouth, chin, cheeks, forehead, ears, and hair, and say "when all these have been rehearsed, the whole of the man has been described." The sculptural creation has followed this mental analysis and, one by one, cut each remembered element out of the solid block. Whatever has no name, attracts no attention and remains blank. The full-front face, with all its features, belongs to one patternised entity, the profile equally exclusively to another. If there is movement in any of the larger surfaces, it is the movement of an elastic surface under surface tension, comparable to a sheet of water whose every deformation has reference to the simple surface which underlies every straining ripple and into which all movement will at last return to rest.

I exaggerate, because only so can the peculiarity of the glyptic approach gain enough clarity to emerge for the reader who has never chanced to think of Greek sculpture in these terms. It is necessary to see that the archaic world with all its linear schematisms is not yet wholly dead or overpassed in the style of the late-fourth century B. C., at the very threshold of the Hellenistic Age. Whoever once has really grasped this latent continuity out of archaism will never again ascribe to 300 B. C. a head in which the fluidity of plastic form has displaced the immobility of glyptic structure.

When Lysistratus took imprints from the living flesh and from these plaster negatives made wax positives, thereby attaining to true replicas of the actual human forms, what did he see in them and what did he learn from them? Only (I dare say) that his analyses had not been minute enough, that patterns were more complicated than he had been taught, and that there were more details to be noted than his predecessors had marked in their work. Why did he need his casts to tell him what he should have been able to see in the living flesh without any such trouble of plaster and wax? For that matter, the long line of his predecessors for three hundred years had been looking at the living flesh; why had *they* not introduced its actualities into *their* work? Why does not every landscape painter see with a camera's eye? Because every art lives and progresses inside its own medium; its actualities are first and foremost those of its own technique and traditions. It is perfectly safe to say that the works of Lysistratus differed very little from those of his contemporaries and immediate predecessors.

In agreement with this verdict we shall find the heightened realism of the early-third century B. C. achieved through the multiplication of linear indications and not by the radical substitution of unlinear plastic modulation. The Demosthenes of Polyenkton<sup>1</sup>, represented in so many marble copies, was a bronze of about the year 280 B. C. Its individualising devices are almost entirely irregularities of contour, which is a matter of outline, heightened by the use of internal furrows, which are by their very nature nothing but the glyptic articulation of linear patterns. Whatever we may think of the unctemporary inscription naming the Poseidippos of the Vatican<sup>2</sup>, the compact and block-like form of the statue, the extremely severe drapery, assign it to the same period as the Demosthenes and hence to Poseidippos' lifetime. And here the portrait (PL. 33 A) is in no sense a direct replica of the living countenance. The various features of the face are enumerated and each cut to its appropriate linear pattern. Linear furrows add verisimilitude. The approach is still external, cutting down the solid block first to the generic, then to the specific, and finally to the individualised form. Yet by this time we may well believe Lysistratus already dead. Casts were being taken from the living form, yet statues were not mere castings from these casts.

The world-famous bronze head of a "poet" (Hekler, 119), most commonly known to the profession as the pseudo-Seneca, was constructed in a totally different manner. On some sort of armature, masses of clay were made to adhere until the rough shape of a human head had been agglomerated. To this, with more

<sup>1</sup> HEKLER, *Bildniskunst der Griechen u. Römer*, pl. 57.

<sup>2</sup> HEKLER, pls. 110a, 111a.



clay, the individual features were attached and modeled into shape, always by adding (and, where too much had accumulated, by subtracting) the brute unformed medium, in the conviction that the changing pulse of protrusion and recession of a single solid's moving surface would take care indiscriminately of features as well as of whatever lay between or around these features. There are thus no "dead" passages, unworked survivals of the more generic general form of forehead or cheeks or chin; there is no feeling that eyes, nose, and mouth are a foreground of highly patternised units against a broader background of simpler shapes. The neck is not a cylinder somewhat deformed by the notation of certain established muscles. The hair is not cut from a larger cap following the skull, as it is in the Demosthenes and the Poseidippos, the Apoxyomenos and the Ares Ludovisi (PL. 24), but added as a free element on top of a skull-form already established. From this completely plastic construct, wrought in wet and pliant clay, a plaster mould was taken, and on the inside of this mould wax was pressed or poured to the thickness desired of the final bronze. Then the interior of this wax-lined mould was filled with some fire-resistant substance to make a core, and the plaster mould was removed from the wax. There had thus been produced an exact replica of the original clay model, but consisting of a thin outer shell of wax upon a solid core. On the surface of this wax could now be modeled with appropriate tools the finer indications of linear detail on the hair (of the head, eyebrows, lips, cheeks) and a smoother cleaner texture imparted to the skin, thus dissipating any clay-like appearance which might run counter to the true nature of the final metallic medium. After the final casting, in which the wax was run out and molten metal run in to take its place, cold graving could heighten the first, while filing and polishing could improve the second, of these essential resources.

The result belonged to a new world of sculptural achievement, — *nulla signa statuere sine argilla* now at last was true. Yet this was not the sole prerogative of the bronze-casters. Had plaster instead of wax been run into the plaster mould, a workman who knew his trade could equally well have produced a plaster replica of the modeled clay, and from this a marble statue could be pointed off with almost the same mechanical precision which characterised the bronze casting from the wax. Thus marble and bronze, which had agreed in their essentially glyptic appearance in the pre-Hellenistic era, need not go different ways, but could both still keep company in the world of plastic form.

When did this fundamental evolution take place? If the reader will take the trouble to turn the pages of Hekler's picture-book of portraits, he will soon discover that he can without much difficulty assign most of the heads to one or other side of this revolutionary dividing-line. The following, at any rate, are clearly *glyptic* constructions:

- pl. 38, Mausolos, a non-Hellenic type far more than an individual;
- pl. 54, Sophokles of the Lateran (late-fourth century?);
- pls. 60-64, six different renderings of Alexander the Great<sup>1</sup> (but *not* the Alexander head from Pergamon, pl. 59, which therefore must be a later re-creation);
- pl. 70, Philetairos of Pergamon, good mid-third century style;
- pl. 71, including King Pyrrhos (whose birth and death are set by Beloch in 319/8 and 273/2 B.C.);
- pl. 72b, *right*, which might still be fourth century;
- pl. 74, advanced third century;
- pl. 80 (however much disputed!);
- pl. 91b (which is otherwise not an easy head to place);
- pl. 92a, *left*, but *not* 92b, *right* (an exaggerated lesson in the difference between the two methods!);
- pl. 94a, *left*, in spite of the apparent likeness, a mere study in linear grooving (third century, *cf.* Theophrastos);
- pl. 96a, *left*, Theophrastos, typical early third and hence presumably contemporary (*cf.* Poseidippos, 111a);
- pl. 97a, *left*, Sophokles of the British Museum (but *not* 97b, *right*);
- pl. 99 (another typically early-third century piece and hence not Chrysippos, who died in 206 B.C.);
- pl. 101b, *right*, but *not* 101a, *left*.

<sup>1</sup> *Cf.* also the Geneva head of Alexander (frontispiece to F. P. JOHNSON's *Lysippos*) in the purest glyptic tradition of the late-fourth century.



If the reader will have the patience to turn these same pages once again, in search of equally undeniably plastic constructions, his list must include:

- pl. 21, Sokrates Villa Albani, but not pl. 19, Sokrates Naples (a distinction which has long been recognised);
- pl. 27b, *right*, but not 27a, *left*;
- pl. 65b, *right*, but not 65a, *left*;
- pl. 73b, *right* (who, if a "*Hellenistischer Krieger*", must have served under the Romans!);
- pl. 75, an Attalid who raises most interesting problems;
- pl. 79, who has been dated diversely through nearly half a thousand years! The cast sockets for the eyes and the herringbone engraving of the eyebrows would emphatically indicate the first century B. C. as the more prudent end of the chronological ladder;
- pl. 81, the masterpiece of masterpieces for the plastic wax style in Greek sculpture (hence mid-second B. C.);
- pls. 83-84, the "*Hellenistic Ruler*", for whom see the fuller discussion later;
- pl. 86, the Seated Boxer, whose hair is slightly classicistic; but the eyes, nose, and ears are tell-tale;
- pl. 92b, *right*, whose exact date would be highly important to determine (in any case not earlier than mid-second B. C.);
- pl. 95, cold and destylised, yet evidently going back to a fully plastic original;
- pl. 101a, *left*, Epikouros (better seen in the New York version on pl. 25 of Delbrück's *Antike Porträts*);
- pls. 105-107, Studniczka's "*Menander*" (but here the classicising mode has already begun strongly to idealise: hence early-Augustan);
- pls. 117-118a, Homer;
- pls. 118b-120, a closely related study, more baroquely elaborated, recently claimed for Hesiod.

No doubt such a survey will be judged to be both elementary and superficial; yet if its underlying principle be grasped and strictly applied, the results must prove far-reaching and important. Our present and immediate interest must be to discover, if possible, the chronology of this revolution in plastic form. Our earlier list, representing the unbroken glyptic tradition, brings us well into the third century B. C., with such personalities as Pyrrhos, Philetairos, Theophrastos, and Poseidippos to lend certainty to the chronology. Our second list, representing the fully developed plastic innovation, is unfortunately far less precise. The first century B. C. is represented by the "*Hellenistic Ruler*" of the Terme, the seated bronze boxer of the Terme, and the boxer's head from Olympia in the National Museum in Athens; while certain heads more purely Greek in type should precede the period of Roman artistic patronage following on the return of Sulla and Lucullus from Athens, but could hardly belong to the *immediately* preceding, rather decadent, phase of the early-first century B. C., since this seems to be distinguished by shallow ultra-linear drapery and rather insipid classicistic heads. Our evidence thus forces us back at least into the second century B. C. But how much further back? The earliest identifiable subject in our list is Epikouros (*cf.* PL. 34 A), who came to Athens to found his school in 306 B. C. and died in 270 B. C. If the portrait were contemporary, it would have to belong to the early-third century and thus overlap our other list in the glyptic tradition. However, Epikouros' bosom friend and pupil Metrodoros, who did not outlive his master, appears in Hekler on the same plate (101) with Epikouros, and is an excellent example of the early-third century style! The two heads appear back to back on a double herm in the Capitoline Museum<sup>1</sup>, where the contrasts of the two styles may be studied at leisure. It is thus essential to determine whether the more famous Epikouros was really a contemporary portrait and not some more imaginative later version irrelevant to our present search.

Michalowski has done some excellent research in connection with the portrait heads from Delos<sup>2</sup>. His discussion of the wonderful bronze head from the Old Palaistra<sup>3</sup> brings us nearer to our goal; for this head is a *locus classicus* of the plastic style. The reasoning which Michalowski adds to that of Picard, his distinguished predecessor in the discussion of the head<sup>4</sup>, makes a date earlier than the middle of the second century B. C. appear inevitable.

<sup>1</sup> Profile view in HEKLER, pl. 100.

<sup>2</sup> Well illustrated, *op. cit.*, pls. I-VI and figs. 1-2.

<sup>3</sup> *Exploration archéologique de Delos*, XIII: *Les portraits*

<sup>4</sup> *Mon. Piot*, XXIV (1920) 83-100.

*hellénistiques et romains* (1932).



At this point it would seem natural and logical to turn to the Hellenistic coins with their avowed portraits and seemingly certain dates. The main body of the numismatic evidence not only confirms the conclusion already made but gives them a further and more precise chronological setting. But there are one or two embarrassing collisions between the plastic canon and the accepted dates of certain Hellenistic coins, which give warning of danger ahead. If we appeal to the handiest and most usable of numismatic picture-books, wherein the pertinent coins are illustrated in notable enlargement, viz. George F. Hill's *Select Greek Coins*, portraits with what seems to be plastic modeling already make their appearance among the founders of the Hellenistic dynasties. Thus there is the head of Selenkos on the coinage of Philetairos of Pergamon (284-263 B. C.)<sup>1</sup>, of Antiochos I (reigned 281-261 B. C.)<sup>2</sup> and Ptolemy I (reigned 305-285 B. C.)<sup>3</sup>, to which may be added a Lysimachos head<sup>4</sup>. But these modeled heads give place to a simpler and smoother style, which dominates all the remainder of the century. Thereafter at about the second decade of the second century B. C. there is an outburst of magnificently realistic portraits in the most exemplary plastic manner. In the kingdom of Pontus there are the heads of Mithradates III from the latter end of his reign (which ended in 185 B. C.) and of his immediate successor Pharnakes I (185-169 B. C.)<sup>5</sup>, followed by Mithradates IV with his queen Laodice (before 150 B. C.)<sup>6</sup>. In Bithynia there is Prusias I (238-183 B. C.)<sup>7</sup>. In Macedonia there is Perseus (178-168)<sup>8</sup>. In Cappadocia there is Orophernes, whose coin struck at Priene must date from 158/7 B. C.<sup>9</sup>. In Pergamon there does not seem to be an answering type; but this is due to the repetition of the mid-third century type of Philetairos in the coinage of the Attalids: our sole surviving example of a portrait of any of these, the Eumenes II (197-159), is in the new style<sup>10</sup>. The earliest, precisely dated example would seem to be the coin already mentioned (p. 73) which the Roman consul Titus Quinctius Flamininus struck in Greece in 198 B. C. in imitation of contemporary Hellenistic rulers<sup>11</sup>. It foreshadows the Perseus heads, which it anticipates by a full twenty years. As a new type without dynastic tradition behind it, setting the Greek die-engraver a specifically different subject racially, it may well reflect the current capacities of the best contemporary Greek art, and thus prove that the plastic portrait was already in existence in the year 200 B. C.

What explanation is to be given for this swing away from a plastic style early in the third century and the emphatic return to it almost exactly a hundred years later? The least self-contradictory hypothesis would be to suggest that its first occurrence marks a stage in the proper evolution of coinage as an independent art exploring the devices proper to its particular medium; whereas the second occurrence of plastic portraiture in coins has every indication of being a reflection from the major art of sculpture, due to the sudden popularity of a new stylistic advance in that affiliated medium. The earlier heads — the Seleukos Nikator, Antiochos Soter, and Ptolemy Soter of Hill's plate x — are part and parcel of the fabric of the coin, dissolving into the background plane of their own silver; whereas the later series — the Euthydemos II, the Orophernes of Hill's plate xv — stand out like busts displayed against a background drop or screen. On closer scrutiny, the movement of the surfaces will be found to be different, being more intricate, sudden, and disruptive of the planes in the later series. If it is a sound conclusion that the earlier portraits are numismatic while the later are sculptural, our inference must be that the invention of the plastic portrait in sculpture is an event of the turn of the century from the third to the second century B. C. As the royal rulers would be among the first to commission the leading portrait artists to do busts or statues of them in the new manner, and as these royal portraits would then naturally be transferred to the coinage, the numismatic evidence should synchronise rather closely with the sculptural event which it echoes. If, for precision's sake, we desire a dividing date between the glyptic and plastic portraits, schematically we may take 200 B. C. or, more generally, make the claim that plastic portraits are later than the third century B. C.

<sup>1</sup> HILL, *op. cit.*, pl. x, 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. x, 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. x, 4.

<sup>4</sup> REGLING, *Die antike Münze als Kunstwerk*, pl. XLI, no. 838.

<sup>5</sup> HILL, pl. XIII, 2; XIV, 1; cf. WADDINGTON-BABELON-REINACH, *Recueil général des monnaies grecques d'Asie Mineure*, pl. I, 2-7.

<sup>6</sup> WADDINGTON, pl. I, 13.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. XXIX, 11.

<sup>8</sup> HILL, pl. XIV, 2.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. XV, 2.

<sup>10</sup> VON FRITZE, *Die Münzen von Pergamon*, pl. II, 14.

<sup>11</sup> Finely illustrated in KURT LANGE, *Herrscherköpfe des Altertums*, Atlantis-Verlag, Berlin and Zürich [1938], p. 86. Those who possess this book of magnificent enlargements from coins, superior even to those in Hill, will find on a still larger scale most of the coins already mentioned.



Thus the wonderful bronze head of an elderly man from the Antikythera wreck <sup>1</sup>, which was previously referred to as the masterpiece of masterpieces for the plastic style, should, if our numismatic evidence can be trusted as a reflection of sculptural achievement, be assigned to the opening quarter of the second century, since it finds its nearest parallels in the heads of Mithradates III and Pharnakes I <sup>2</sup> on the Pontic coinage of that period.

Inevitably, the new technique would not have been confined to heads alone, but would have revolutionised the entire sculptural anatomy. If the epigraphical indications assign the Borghese Warrior by Agasias of Ephesos to the late second century B. C. (at the earliest), this is precisely the conclusion which an inspection of its anatomical rendering would force us to reach in any case. It cannot therefore be a mere replica of a Lysippan bronze, as some have thought; nor can its amazing anatomical realism be used as evidence for the supposititious realism of any earlier period.

The shift of creative emphasis to the fluid clay — which is the fundamental force behind this new technique — must have profoundly influenced statuary composition. Throughout the preceding classical period, groups were mere collocations of separately executed statues. Only with the realisation that the plastic entity comprised a figure together with all its accessories, and thus might actually comprise more than the isolated statue, could the plastic group come into being, the *symplegma* be substituted for a mere plurality of figures. The struggling nymphs and satyrs, the erotic *symplegmata*, Menelaos with the body of Patroklos, even the Gaul and his Wife (since a unity of composition more intimate than the mere accretion of the two figures is involved), must all be phenomena of the second century (at the earliest).

It is easy to misunderstand the criterion here established and, through such misunderstanding, to fail in its proper application. At the risk of tedium, the distinction between the crucial terms *glyptic* and *plastic* must be once more rehearsed.

It is a distinguishing mark of the *glyptic* approach that all the protuberances and recessions which mark the rise and fall of muscles, drapery, or other detail are always defined by linear contours. They were, that is to say, cut in terms of a surface pattern. The sculptor thought and worked with this pattern in mind. However much he refined and elaborated the shifting surfaces, they remained parts of a unit, and this unit was the pattern which ultimately led back to the linear schematizations of archaism. The ultimate achievement of *plastic* realism is the elimination of this linear analysis and the substitution of the stereomorphic configuration of solid actualities. This final step, however, just because it involves mobility in every dimension, can only be made in a mobile medium, such as can be pressed out as well as in, displaced as well as removed, increased in volume as well as merely cut away. In short, it is not a glyptic phase at all. Its products must be created in wet clay or softened wax and only afterwards transferred to the immobile medium of bronze or marble. In contradistinction to the glyptic approach, which is external, the plastic approach, therefore, may be defined as *internal* and *from within*, because it treats the statue as something to be built up, accumulated around a framework or core, reached by accretion of surface material which can be continually amplified until the final form is attained.

Although the *Laokoon* is not a plastic group, but composed like a relief for specific outline, none the less it implies the plastic tradition. The central figure is a completely plastic creation, involving a *proplasma* from which the final marble could be pointed-off. Although the two lateral figures (presumably the contributions of the two assistant sculptors) are less obviously modeled, the final group (so nearly cut, as Pliny would have it, out of a single block of marble) involved the addition of the serpents with all their coils in clay to a model, from which a plaster cast could be made. From this cast, the final marble was cut by pointing. Unless I am much at fault, the tiny points still show at sufficiently numerous crucial spots to prove that the final marble was indeed rather mechanically pointed-off from such a cast.

It may be seen from this instance that our prime critical problem in Hellenistic sculpture does not lie in distinguishing third-century from second-century work (which should be easy), but in determining the difference between the creatively plastic phase of the second century and its more eclectic and classicising derivative in the period of Roman patronage in the first century B. C.

In the series of magnificent photographs which have now at last become available for a study of the

<sup>1</sup> HEKLER, pl. 81.

<sup>2</sup> HILL, pl. XIII, 2; XIV, 1.



ancient sculpture in the Louvre<sup>1</sup>, will be found on opposite pages a version of the pseudo-Seneca and of the blind Homer<sup>2</sup>. It is perfectly apparent that they have been correctly juxtaposed, that they belong to precisely the same tradition, that neither can be dated to the third century, and that both must derive from the hey-day of the plastic portrait in the middle years of the second century B. C. Crome's thesis<sup>3</sup> that the pseudo-Seneca represents Homer's single great Greek rival, Hesiod, is thus much strengthened by the realisation that they both originate in the same sculptural environment.

This instance may be offered in support of the remark that it should be easy to distinguish third from second century work. As for the much more difficult task of distinguishing second century Hellenistic from first century Greek under Roman patronage, we may as well plunge *in medias res* by turning to

### the "Hellenistic Ruler" of the Terme.

Here we are not dealing with a bronze assembled in the classical Greek tradition out of discrete castings. Since the head (PL. 25) is from one mould with the body, it was impossible to attach the eyes from within. Instead, cavities have been cast to receive the eyes externally. The eyelashes must have been clipped out of the soft lead lining which held the eyes in place. As far as we can judge at present, this whole procedure (necessarily resulting from the single-piece casting direct from a fully modeled clay *proplasma*) is characteristic of the period of Roman patronage in the late Republic. The next stage was, of course, the reliance on graving and coloring to add expression to an eye of bronze cast integrally with the head — a procedure typical of the Empire<sup>4</sup>.

Stylistically, there can be no dispute that we are dealing with a plastic and not a glyptic head. Even if the cheeks seem without much movement, the features of the face are built up in a pliant medium, not cut down to a linear form. Any date before the opening decades of the second century, therefore, need not be further considered. But if we confront the Ruler with the head of Orophernes on his coinage of 158/7 B. C., struck at Priene, using the fine enlargement on Plate xv (bottom) of Hill's *Select Greek Coins*, what objection can there be to a synchronous dating of our Ruler? In both heads there is the same strongly bulging forehead, breaking sharply down to the bridge of the nose, the same unruly tilt of the nose outward from every facial plane (showing incidentally that this member was attached to the face in clay or wax, not reached by cutting into the already head-shaped block), the same extrusion of the lips, the same attached rather than detached ear, the same articulation of the neck and throat, even the same tendency to cut the hair straight across the forehead and square above the temples. The coin-die was cut to resemble a plastic bronze portrait and, stylistically, such a portrait must have strikingly resembled our Ruler.

The case has been put as strongly as possible against the conclusion which I myself reached during a previous study-period in Rome and advocated in an article in the *American Journal of Archaeology*<sup>5</sup> wherein, perhaps, I sought to identify the Ruler as the Roman general, Lucullus.

There are, of course, several superficial details to show that we are dealing with a Roman rather than with a Hellenistic monarch. There is no beribboned diadem about the head, such as Orophernes wears. The heavy wisp of hair brushed forward of the ear, the overhanging ledge of matted hair along the forehead, the hair brushed tightly forward behind the ears at the top of the neck, marking the break of the head with the neck, are all familiar fashions of the Romans of the Late Republic. Piece by piece, detail by detail, they can be more or less paralleled from earlier Greek examples; but taken together, they have no counterpart

<sup>1</sup> *Encyclopédie Photographique de l'Art*, Éditions "TEL", Paris, vol. III (1938); to be supplemented by the equally fine illustrations of detail in CHARBONNEAUX, *La Sculpture Grecque au Musée du Louvre*, Librairie des Arts Décoratifs, Paris (no date: 1935†).

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, 246-7.

<sup>3</sup> *Das Bildnis Vergile*, 59-66.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the "Brutus" of the Conservatori on PL. 34 B (which should be Early Augustan by its style).

<sup>5</sup> *AJA*, xxxi (1927) 160-8.



except on Roman heads. The engraved beard also causes trouble, since it is not the closely cropped stubble of an habitually bearded man, but the brief and sporadic growth due to a wilful and temporary neglect<sup>1</sup>, such as we know to have been the custom among the Romans as a sign of mourning for the deceased and (in the Late Republic at least) as a token of grief for national calamities or those of political party. Further, it is important to note that this was not merely the Republican Roman custom in life, but that it was introduced into portraiture as well, as may be discovered by consulting the coins of Brutus<sup>2</sup> and Octavian.

But none of these considerations concern the actual sculptural style which, if the Ruler be indeed Roman of the Late Republic, must have been transmitted to Roman times with remarkable fidelity from the late Hellenistic tradition. It was, in fact, the fusion of the native Italic tradition of death-mask fidelity with the more expressionistic technical resources of the Greek plastic portrait which gave to Roman Republican portrait sculpture its special and peculiar character; so that it should not be wondered-at if much of the authentic second-century Hellenistic savor should be present in a first-century Greek artist's production for a Roman patron. But the two styles are not really so close as to be actually confounded. We have been comparing a bronze head in-the-round with a profile head on a silver tetradrachm (Orophernes), and it is partly to this specious comparison of two different artistic *genera* that our inability to distinguish stylistically between them must be ascribed. Actually, none of the current photographs of the Ruler's head adequately convey the enormous salience of the forehead and eyebrows, which overhang the deeply set eyes like a beetling shelf of rock above a cavern. Nor do the photographs show the great prominence of the left cheekbone which, when seen from the side and below, conceals the bridge of the nose completely from view and creates a contour which runs through a concave countercurve out to the very edge of the chin, leaving the mouth framed in its own frontal recess. There is nothing on the silver tetradrachm of Orophernes which even remotely suggests this exaggeration of all plastic resources. The Adam's apple is not merely recorded, as on the coin, but strongly salient (as in many Roman portrait heads). In short, the comparison between Orophernes and the Ruler is photographic only and, like so much archaeological argumentation based on photographic appearances, inactual.

By the first century B. C. the technique of plastic portraiture has lost the novelty of its first discovery, and has become a rather schematic set of formulae, which can be made effective only by overemphasis. And in addition, there has intervened a classicistic revival, covering the closing decades of the second and the opening decades of the first century B. C.; and this has contributed still more to produce an eclectic body of atelier rules, tending to degrade styles into mannerisms.

There is thus in the head of the Ruler a highly peculiar and almost paradoxical combination of simple naturalistic fidelity and exaggerated artificiality which removes it irrevocably from the Hellenistic world. Precisely the same combination of anatomic realism and formal exaggeration may be detected in almost every part of the body. One does not know which to admire, the marvelous fidelity which extends even to toes and fingers, where the very folds beneath the joints are meticulously recorded, or the almost repellent power in the Herculean haunches, the swelling abdomen, the mighty back between the shoulders, the agitated broken masses so utterly alien to the true classic tradition. "It is the very life, — but where was there ever actually such a body?" we may ask, adapting a famous remark anent the different, but not wholly unrelated, sculpture of the Parthenon pediments. What was the purpose behind the attribution of such superhuman strength to an individual, whose realistically portrayed features must have proclaimed his everyday identity?

If an appeal be once more made to numismatic evidence in an effort to determine the period at which portraits in the late Hellenistic tradition became popular at Rome, we shall find them suddenly appearing on the Roman coinage after the late sixties of the first century B. C. and representing immediate ancestors back to a consul of 94 B. C.<sup>3</sup>, and Sulla's consulate of 88 B. C.<sup>4</sup>, as well as wholly imaginary portraits such as that of Ancus Marcius<sup>5</sup>, and the first consul, Lucius Junius Brutus, with the master of the horse, Gaius

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Cicero's distinction: *non hac barbula qua ista delectatur, sed illa horrida quam in statuis antiquis atque imaginibus videmus. Pro Caelio*, 14, 33.

<sup>2</sup> KURT LANGE, *op. cit.*, 94.

<sup>3</sup> Coinage of Gaius Coelius Caldus, 61 B. C., illustrating

his grandfather of the same name: GRUEBER, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum*, pl. XLVII, 22-24.

<sup>4</sup> Q. Pompeius Rufus' coinage of 57 B. C., illustrating his grandparents Sulla and the consul Q. Pompeius Rufus: GRUEBER, pl. XLVIII, 15.

<sup>5</sup> Struck 56 B. C.: GRUEBER, pl. XLVIII, 17-18.



Servilius Ahala<sup>1</sup>. In the Roman coinage of Spain, the first recent portrait to appear is that of Pompey the Great; in the Roman coinage of the East, the issues of Marcus Junius Brutus show his own head as well as that of his heroic ancestor<sup>2</sup>. If this evidence is not vitiated by other considerations, it would support the hypothesis that the style of portraiture which interests us in the Ruler of the Terme was introduced later than the return of Sulla from Greece in 83 B. C. It is clear that it continued into the Augustan Age, when it succumbed to a growing classicistic movement.

Those who have trained themselves to ignore prosopographic likenesses and to detect stylistic similarities beneath differences of subject-matter will find the proof that the Ruler is Late Republican Roman by studying the "bust of an elderly Roman" in Lansdowne House<sup>3</sup>. The structure of the forehead as a heavy horizontal rectangle framed above and below by the deep shadow-line of the overhanging hair and the heavy straight eyebrows is common to Ruler and Lansdowne head, as is the further horizontal articulation of the forehead with furrows bounding the convex superciliar protrusion. Diagonal furrows on either side of the nostrils, a short heavily offset chin, complete the powerful design; but the effective comparisons between the two heads are much more extensive and apply to almost every feature except the ears (and here there is said to be a certain amount of restoration in the Lansdowne head). Poulsen notes that "What is peculiar is the contrast between the firm expression of the face in front view and the much milder expression of the profile". This effect is inherent in the heavy horizontal structure so apparent in the full-face view. The same remark can be made about the Ruler, who is brutal in full-front, more thoughtful and intelligent in profile. The exact date of the Lansdowne head is unfortunately disputable; but there is no dispute that it is Roman.

The literary information on these Greek *émigrés* sculptors, who transferred their ateliers to Rome after Sulla's sack of Athens, is not abundant; yet it does exist and, what there is of it, seems reliable.

The great Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was destroyed by fire in 83 B. C., rebuilt by Sulla's orders and finally rededicated in 69 B. C. after Sulla's death. "This Temple, too, was destroyed", says Plutarch, "during the troublous times of Vitellius [*i. e.* A. D. 69], and Vespasian began and completely finished the third, with the good fortune that attended him in all his undertakings. He lived to see it completed, and did not live to see it destroyed, as it was soon after; and in dying before his work was destroyed he was just so much more fortunate than Sulla, who died before his was consecrated. For upon the death of Vespasian [*i. e.* A. D. 79] the Capitol was burned. The fourth or present Temple was both completed and consecrated by Domitian".<sup>4</sup> From a comment on a passage in Plato's *Timaeus*, *ut enim in simulacro Capitolini Iovis est una species eboris, est item alia, quam Apollonius artifex auxit animo, ad quam directa mentis acie speciem eboris poliebat*<sup>5</sup>, it seems to follow that the chryselephantine cult statue in one of these successive structures on the site was ascribed to Apollonius; but this could apparently be the Jupiter of any one of the rebuilt temples of Sulla, Vespasian, or Domitian, since our Latin quotation comes from the commentary of a certain Chalcidius, who dedicated his work on the *Timaeus* to a certain Hosius, who in turn seems to have been the bishop of Cordova who took a prominent part in the first Council of Nicaea in A. D. 325. All this seems hopelessly obscure; but there is sufficient reason for believing that Chalcidius derived his material and information from a lost commentary on Plato's *Timaeus* by Posidonius the Stoic<sup>6</sup> who, according to Plutarch<sup>7</sup>, was in Rome in 86 B. C., and, according to Suidas<sup>8</sup>, again in 51 B. C., though this latter statement has been challenged<sup>9</sup>. The philosopher whom Strabo called "the most widely informed scholar of our times"<sup>10</sup> seems consequently to have had good reason for thinking of Apollonius in seeking for an example of the metaphysical difference between a material merely considered as such and the same material informed by the mind of an artist, and to have possessed the type of mind which would have been interested in recording this observation. We are thus led by a very

<sup>1</sup> Struck 59 B. C.: GRUEBER, pl. XLVIII, 9.

<sup>2</sup> Pompey and the Bruti, struck B. C. 46-5 and 43-2 respectively: GRUEBER, pls. CI, 2-7; CXI, 12, 14.

<sup>3</sup> POULSEN, *Gk. & R. Portraits in English Country Houses*, no. 34.

<sup>4</sup> PLUTARCH, *Life of Publicola*, xv 2. Trans. Bernadotte Perrin for the Loeb Classical Library (who expands the last sentence).

<sup>5</sup> Accessible in OVERBECK, *Schriftquellen*, 2215. For Chalcidius see TEUFFEL, *Röm. Lit.*<sup>6</sup>, III, p. 230f.

<sup>6</sup> A. E. TAYLOR, *A Commentary on Plato's Timaeus*, p. 35 and footnote there.

<sup>7</sup> *Life of Marius*, XLV 4.

<sup>8</sup> S. v. Ποσειδώνιος.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. ZELLER, *Philosophie d. Griechen*, III, part 1, p. 573.

<sup>10</sup> STRABO, XVI 2, 10: ἀνὴρ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς φιλοσόφων πολυμαθέστατος.



cogent combination of reasons to believe that the temple for which Apollonius made his chryselephantine Jupiter was the one which Sulla rebuilt. As such a work could only have been carved, assembled, and erected on the spot, Apollonius must have been in residence in Rome for a considerable period of time between Sulla's return in 83 B. C. and the final rededication of the temple in 69 B. C. Since it was Sulla who interested himself in repairing the damage from the conflagration, it is only natural to suppose that it was Sulla who brought or summoned Apollonius from Greece. Naturally, to merit such a costly commission, he must have been one of the leading artists of his day.

The Athenian sculptor, Apollonios, son of Nestor, whose signature appears on both the marble Belvedere Torso of the Vatican and the bronze Seated Boxer of the Terme, can hardly fail to be identical with the Apollonius whom we have been discussing. By the evidence of his work, he was a master of great virtuosity, addicted to a style which I have elsewhere<sup>1</sup> characterised as neo-Pheidian and hence congenial for such a task as the creation of a chryselephantine Jupiter which at that time of boundless admiration for Greek antiquity could hardly fail to have reflected the similar but even more famous cult-statue by Pheidias in the temple at Olympia. As it is stylistically (and perhaps epigraphically) difficult to assign the Torso and the Boxer to any other period than the pre-Augustan of the Late Republic, it becomes wholly gratuitous to imagine two great sculptors of the same name simultaneously at work in Rome. It is therefore only reasonable to identify them. As this master must have already attained his reputation before Sulla summoned him to the capital city to make the cult statue for Rome's chief temple, his *floruit* should fall at least as early as the 80's and continue until the 60's of the first century B. C.

Apollonios Nestoros was not the master who modeled and cast the Ruler; but before we further pursue the difficult topic of the Ruler's author and identity, we must finish with Apollonios, since it is only at Rome that we can learn anything of his work, and the final word has not yet been written about his Vatican masterpiece,

### the Belvedere Torso

(PLATE 26).

This magnificent but distressingly incomplete marble is another example of the interesting way in which archaeological problems tend to solve themselves through successive minds. It would almost seem as though it were not the individual archaeologist of talent or intuition who, sporadically and unaided, attacks and resolves the problem; but rather, as though it were the problem itself which, seeking here and there for cerebral habitation and human assistance, thinks itself out step by step until finally it reaches its ultimate stage of successful solution and remains henceforward at rest<sup>2</sup>. Ciriaco d'Ancona (1432-4), thinking the animal skin outspread upon the rocky base must be a lion's, suggested the identification as Hercules, which thereafter obstinately maintained itself through many centuries<sup>3</sup>. Hasse, the anatomist, and Sauer, the archaeologist, at last created a diversion by proving that the skin belonged to a panther and that therefore the identification must be sought in the Dionysiac circle. This important observation should hardly have produced or encouraged the subsequent suggestions of Polyphemus and Prometheus; but the superhuman anatomy of the Torso was responsible for this insistence on a Giant or a Titan. Not until 1907 was a most elementary observation utilised for the interpretation. In that year Hadaczek published in the *Jahreshefte des Oesterreichischen Archäologischen Institutes* (x [1907] 312-17) his very simple, logical, and indisputable inference that, while the other

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs Am. Ac. Rome*, vi (1927) 133.

<sup>2</sup> For a serious and scientific statement of this apparent nonsense, see K. KOFFKA in *Art: a Bryn Mawr Symposium* (1940), 230-36.

<sup>3</sup> For all the various Herculean restorations which, because basically erroneous, do not concern us here, see

AMELUNG's excellent conspectus in his description of the Torso for his Vatican Catalogue (*die Sculpturen des Vaticanischen Museums*, II p. 15 f.) and the valuable review of the exegetical history of the Torso by ERIC LANGENSKIÖLD in *Acta Archaeologica* I (1930) 121-46.



large round drilled holes in the Torso had been made for dowels with which to secure the attachment of the various missing blocks of marble out of which the completed statue had been assembled, the similar hole amid anatomically finished surfaces near the base of the spine<sup>1</sup> could only have been intended for the insertion of a tail. Not Herakles, nor Polyphemus, nor Prometheus, therefore, but a satyr or Silenus! The head was cut and set on separately; but the attachment surface extends far down upon the breast, which it would not do unless the head were bearded<sup>2</sup>. Hence, as the rest of the anatomy would indicate, no youthful satyr, but a more elderly Silenus, — in short, Marsyas, — was represented.

In the répertoire of Greek art, a seated Marsyas is not uncommon<sup>3</sup>, but he is almost invariably represented as playing his flutes in the fatal contest with Apollo. How should the Torso be completed and reconstructed in order to become the flute-playing Marsyas? A remarkably detailed reply is possible from purely technical considerations.

To begin systematically from below, the correct observation has long since been made that the muscles of the upper leg are differently presented in the two limbs and that the greater tension in the right leg, combined with the higher level of the thigh, shows that the foot on this side was drawn back against (or close to) the rocky pedestal, whereas the opposite indications in the other leg show that the left foot was set forward flat upon the ground<sup>4</sup>. This greater pressure or ponderation on the left is motivated by the leftward torsion of the upper body which, beginning at the waist, converts the frontal pose and brings the head and shoulders through an angle of 45 degrees to the main axis of the lower body. (We may note in passing that this is not the continuous torsion formula of the Lysippan School, but the abruptly frontal change of direction of the period of the Parthenon pediments. Apollonios is a neo-Pheidian master in reaction against the living Hellenistic tradition.) The left shoulder is held considerably higher than the right; but there is not as much compression on the right side above the great oblique muscle as might be expected. This condition can be explained only on the assumption that both arms were raised; and actually, a close study of the still surviving indications at the shoulders will convince the observer that this was indeed the case. The head was still further turned toward its left, but not so much as to make it possible for the figure to be looking upward over his own shoulder. The situation is well summarised by Della Seta<sup>5</sup> in the following analysis:

....nel Torso del Belvedere la parte superiore del tronco, con un'energica torsione gira a sinistra e accompagna verso l'alto il movimento della testa. Mentre così il dorso del Pugilista [sc. the bronze seated boxer of the Terme] si arrotonda e le spalle si abbassano, nel Torso del Belvedere la parte superiore del dorso relativamente è più spianata e la spalla sinistra si alza. Coordinato a questo movimento doveva essere quello degli omeri: quello di destra era abbassato, ma non doveva essere stretto contro il corpo, come dimostra la larghezza del cavo ascellare, invece quello di sinistra era un poco alzato e disteso di lato.

Throughout the entire anatomy there are indications of muscular tension to indicate that we have no exhausted, dejected or relaxed pose comparable to that of the Seated Boxer, but that the body is in action (though not in motion!). It is precisely this latent tenseness of action in the pose, performed without altering the pose, which must be justified and explained before any interpretation can be considered satisfactory.

The crux of the reconstruction (but also the final key to its complexities) must be sought in the two sockets for small marble struts, cut in either leg, a short distance above the knee (PL. 26). These correspond to one another, in that they occur at the same distance above the knees, but are not precisely symmetrically placed, since the cut in the right leg occurs on the interior face very close to the upper surface of the limb, while that in the left occurs lower down in the outer side of the leg. As the right leg is also held higher than the left, the cutting in this leg lies about 12 cm. higher than that in the left. Both are orientated horizontally and point in the same direction, *i. e.* carried horizontal marble struts extending toward the statue's proper left, but with this slight difference that the strut to the right leg was square in section (*ca.* 2 × 2 cm.), while that to the left leg was rectangular in section (*ca.* 2 × 4 cm.), set with the larger side uppermost. The

<sup>1</sup> Clearly shown in Hadaczek's photograph, *op. cit.* p. 313, fig. 91, which also shows one of the panther paws.

<sup>2</sup> This simple observation does not seem to be common property; yet I do not see how it can be gainsaid.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the references given by Hadaczek, *op. cit.* p. 314, nn. 5, 6, 7.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Acta Archaeologica* I 128, and especially the anatomical analysis by DELLA SETA in his *Il Nudo nell'Arte* I 567 f. The pose is therefore reminiscent of the seated lyre-playing Apollo theme in sculpture.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, 567.



two cuttings are some 56 cm. apart, which merely represents the spread of the legs at this point and permits no immediate inference on the original length of the strut in either case.

Certain specific inferences, however, can and must be drawn. *Neither of the struts ever served in any way to support the arms or hands of the figure.* Not merely are they too slight for such a purpose, but they are wrongly orientated. Further, the left shoulder was raised too high to permit of approaching any part of the arm to the side of the leg near the knee. As for the other, since the strut was attached to the *inside* face of the limb, the right arm would need to have been bent at the elbow and carried across the body above the thigh in order to approach it; but in that case a *vertical* strut to the leg would have been employed, instead of a horizontal one, since marble is vastly stronger in compression than under cross-tension. These considerations alone restrict the possibilities of the pose enormously and, in conjunction with the evident muscular activity, eliminate all the normal solutions for the seated model at rest.

It was recognized immediately by Hadaczek that if the Torso was to be identified as Marsyas, the appropriate action must be flute-playing; but the technical implications and details were not further discussed. It is, of course, perfectly possible for a seated player to perform on the flute: the left wing of the Ludovisi "Throne" will provide that simple information. In addition, it will show that in flute-playing the arms must be bent very nearly at right angles at the elbows so that the fingers may play on the stops, and that, in consequence, neither the forearms nor the hands can be brought down as low as the thighs. Had the girl in the relief not lounged back on her cushion, but been sitting upright with her head still bent forward, she might easily have brought the ends of the flutes close to her legs a little way above the knees. This, then, is the secret of the struts on the Torso: they do not support the arms or hands, but they prevent damage to the dangerously exposed ends of the double-flutes where these project below the fingers at the stops.

Marsyas is, therefore, not resting nor despondent nor listening, but actively engaged in music-making. On the Mantinea relief where Marsyas stands erect, piping while Apollo listens, we may see the crooked elbows, the raised shoulder (here the opposite one from the Torso), the bent head, and the muscular strain running through every muscle of the body<sup>1</sup>, all precisely as we have postulated for our reconstruction of the Torso. As for the lowered head, it would seem that the highest notes were produced with the head thrown back, the lowest with the head bent forward — not so much through any distinguishing mechanism belonging to the flutes themselves, but because of the human element of the muscular organs of the player<sup>2</sup>.

Yet a restoration which does not satisfy every condition of the problem is no restoration at all; and, at first trial, there will be details which will seem to militate against the suggestion which has just been offered. If a model is posed to agree with the muscular indications of the Torso, and some improvisation is attempted for the double-flutes, a difficulty will immediately become apparent. Since it must be assumed that the strut to the right leg is set so high because the right-hand flute did not extend any lower, it becomes possible to calculate the length of this flute at 60-70 cm.<sup>3</sup>; but a tube of corresponding length could not by any possibility reach the strut in the other leg, for which an increase of nearly 20 cm. is needed. This apparent objection is not in the least fatal. In the Ludovisi relief it will be seen that the left-hand flute is longer than its companion, and if investigation be made of the careful drawings of the Attic red-figure vases (on which flute-playing is an extremely common theme and illusions of perspective do not complicate the issue), it will at once be seen that the two pipes are very commonly drawn of different length and that in the majority of cases (though by no means can this be called an invariable rule!) it is the left-hand pipe which is the longer<sup>4</sup>. It is not

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the questions and answers recorded by KATHLEEN SCHLESINGER, *The Greek Aulos* (1939), 118: "K. S. Then the muscles of the larynx are brought into play? . . . C. D. [Mr. Charles Draper] Yes, and more than that: the muscles of the stomach and legs are all brought into play and you feel the clarinet in your shoulders! — K. S. So you play with the whole man".

<sup>2</sup> Cf. SCHLESINGER, *The Greek Aulos*, legend to pls. 1, 4, 5, and 8; and text pp. 54-62. This seems to furnish a very simple explanation for the technical terms ἀνασπᾶν and κατασπᾶν which have been formed parallel to the familiar ἀνατεύειν and κατατεύειν.

<sup>3</sup> There are several surviving specimens of ancient flutes ranging between 40 and 52 cm. in length; as the Marsyas of the Torso is about 1/3 again life-size, his flutes should thus measure somewhat over 60 cm. in agreement with our inference. The flutes on red-figure vases tend to measure about a fourth to a third of the height of the player, which would again yield about the same result for the Marsyas.

<sup>4</sup> A distinction between the left and right flute is drawn by ancient authors: so in the passage from Theophrastos, *Plants*, IV 11, 7, quoted in BAUMEISTER'S *Denkmäler d. kl. Altertums*, s. v. Flöten, I p. 554 and the authors mentioned *ibid.* p. 560.



clear from most illustrations how great this discrepancy is; but it is seldom shown as more than 10%-15%, which (if accurate) would not yield us so much as the extra 20 cm. necessary for our Marsyas. Theoretically there does not seem to be any reason why the two pipes should differ very markedly in length; nor do flutes in pairs of greatly discrepant length appear in our museum lists of antique specimens. Besides, such a discrepant length, even if it existed, would not explain why the two struts, though both are set horizontally, are of different dimensions. The right-hand pipe would naturally be attached with a small square rod no greater in diameter than the reed itself; but why is the left-hand strut twice as wide, with its greatest width set transversely to the reed? I think that the Farnese relief in Naples will give us our final answer.

In this otherwise rather careless work, the Dionysiac revel-rout includes an ecstatic flute-player who is manipulating a very peculiar type of instrument<sup>1</sup>. Little cup-shaped tubes and filaments sprout from the pipes beyond the fingers, such as can only be devices (βόμβυκες ἐφ'ὀλκιοι?) for increasing the modal range of the instrument; and the right-hand tube is not only considerably longer than the other, but terminates in an upturned bell-shaped mouth suggestive of modern woodwind instruments that employ a conical air-column<sup>2</sup>.

The precise mechanics of this form of double-flute must be left to the specialist in such matters; but its general type and purpose are clear. It is a concert-instrument for the virtuoso in flute-playing. It has further been identified as Phrygian<sup>3</sup>, and hence doubly appropriate for the Phrygian Marsyas' exhibition of auletic skill. If the dimensions of the instrument as shown with such care on the Farnese relief are mechanically multiplied to the scale of the Belvedere Torso, we shall arrive at a right-hand flute of 63 cm., a left-hand flute of 87 cm. over-all, and (if the instrument were played in the same manner) a spread of 48 cm. between the ends. Not merely would these measurements precisely suit the requirements of the problem; but the natural attachment of the strut to the spreading bell or horn of the left-hand flute would explain its otherwise peculiar shape and orientation. Finally, so carefully and elaborately cut pieces of marble as this concert-flute would require, would further justify the use of struts to protect their exposed ends from injury.

It is quite conceivable that these deductions have been a little over-acute and that a simpler form of flute was actually employed for the statue; yet there is nothing absurd or unlikely in such meticulously accurate and almost pedantic indication of detail, to which the temper of Greek art was never adverse even from its earliest days. One need but recall with what accuracy of tenon-joints and pegs the Greek chairs are represented on the Attic grave reliefs<sup>4</sup>, or what extremely detailed information concerning other musical instruments, such as the cithara and lyre, may be drawn from their sculptured representations, to realise that a late artist such as Apollonios might well have elected to display his understanding of the Phrygian flute and the manner in which it was played even in so idealistic a theme as that of the mythical Marsyas.

Nor need the extreme muscular virility and heroic strength of the Torso occasion misgivings, if one will but recall how the Hanging Marsyas of the preceding Pergamenian School had been seized upon as an occasion and excuse for the display of anatomical knowledge in a powerfully realistic manner.

As far back as the days of Visconti, the opinion had been expressed that the Torso must have been part of a group; and this suspicion grew to certainty as the theme was more surely identified. Marsyas does not play in solitude, but in direct contest with Apollo, and often with the Muses summoned as jury for the case<sup>5</sup>. In Overbeck's still useful *Atlas of Griechische Kunstmythologie*, the section devoted to Apollo includes a series of vase illustrations of this contest of Marsyas with the god<sup>6</sup>, in which the Silenus is nearly always

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the drawing in BAUMEISTER, I fig. 596.

<sup>2</sup> This same type of flute is less elaborately reproduced in a painting of the Casa del Menandro at Pompeii (MAIURI, *Casa del Menandro*, pl. v or fig. 18 in the text). It is not uncommon on sarcophagus reliefs; cf. the following footnote.

<sup>3</sup> On the suggestion that the ἔλυτοι αὐλοί are to be so interpreted, cf. the already cited article in Baumeister. I do not remember having encountered Phrygian flutes anywhere in earlier Greek art; but they are not at all uncommon in Greco-Roman times, particularly on sarcophagus reliefs. An interesting and highly relevant instance occurs on a late Roman coin of Apameia, near the fabled scene of Marsyas' contest.

It is well reproduced by Svoronos (in his *Athener Nationalmuseum*, p. 142, fig. 100), and shows a seated Athena playing Phrygian flutes in the presence of the delightedly listening Marsyas.

<sup>4</sup> E. g. the familiar relief of Hegeso, Br.-Br. 436.

<sup>5</sup> I was therefore probably at fault in suggesting (*Hesperia* II [1933] 73) that the missing slab of the Mantinea relief should have illustrated Artemis; it would have been much more natural to have three more Muses represented. This remark, of course, does not alter or affect the technical observations on the sequence of the three extant slabs.

<sup>6</sup> Pl. xxiv, nos. 18-25.



seated (though not always actively playing his flutes) while Apollo rather generally stands. A vase from Crete, brought to Athens and reproduced years ago in the inadequate technique of the time<sup>1</sup>, is the best illustration known to me of the artistic tradition for the seated flute-playing Marsyas inherited by Apollonios. It strongly suggests some sculptural rendering of the theme by an Attic artist of the classical period, such as our neo-Pheidian might have delighted to re-evoked. On this vase, Athena confronts the Silenus, while Apollo stands behind; but there is another tradition in the vase-repertoire which shows a magnificently statuesque Apollo standing immediately above his seated adversary. This is best represented on the red-figure crater in the Hope Collection<sup>2</sup> and in the intimately related scene on the Leningrad pelike<sup>3</sup>, where Marsyas has dropped his pipes and is looking with upturned face toward the lyre-playing Apollo, who stands upon a citharode's platform and is dressed in the citharode's long flowing robe. There are also three other red-figure vases in the Hope Collection<sup>4</sup> which show the flute-playing Silenus in the presence of the god; but on these, Apollo is taken merely from the vase-painter's repertoire of half-clad youths and lacks the sculptural quality of the two preceding examples. It would seem thoroughly probable that the Belvedere Torso, presenting an agitatedly fluting Marsyas with head turned to one side, should have been part of a group and that the missing companion-piece can only have represented the standing citharode Apollo.

On the Hope crater, the god is shown on greater scale than his less fully divine opponent, and some such difference between Marsyas and Apollo might be expected also in a sculptural group<sup>5</sup>. If the Marsyas of the Belvedere Torso is of merely heroic grandeur with his one-third more than normal human size, the Apollo might well be expected to exceed this measure and in his divinity attain perhaps to one-half again the size of ordinary mortals. The Belvedere Marsyas, with shaggy hair rising from his head, would (if erect) have measured about 2.40 meters in height. The missing Apollo of the group might reasonably be estimated at 2.60-2.70 meters, i. e. with as much as a foot of extra stature. He might perfectly well have been represented semi-nude; but he is much more likely to have been treated as a draped figure in the well-known tradition of the various Vatican citharode Apollos. But none of the well-known four in the Vatican can have any connection with the Torso of the Belvedere.

Thus, the over-florid citharode of the *Braccio Nuovo*<sup>6</sup> is much too small, being barely more than normal life-size. The similar god of the *Sala delle Muse*, who has been restored as Dionysos<sup>7</sup>, is even smaller. The heroic striding god near-by<sup>8</sup> is admirably suited, since he so closely echoes the citharode god of the Hope crater and the Leningrad pelike; but he is still considerably smaller in scale than the Torso. *Peccato!* for on the inner face of the nearer arm of his cithara was engraved the hanging Marsyas, in direct allusion to the contest at which his playing was put to the test. No one would pretend that this particular statue, which was found together with seven Muses near Tivoli in 1774, could ever have been set with the Marsyas of the Belvedere; but his is a widely copied type derived apparently from a Late Hellenistic original, which thereby approaches the Apollo for whom we are searching. Lastly, there is the quieter god of the *Sala a Croce Greca*<sup>9</sup> who stands as though waiting for Marsyas to finish, that he himself may begin. He, too, is only a little over life-size and would be dwarfed by his heroic adversary, since the heads of the seated and standing figures would reach the same level. Even the Apollo Barberini in Munich with his 2.42 meters is not tall enough to be grouped with the Marsyas of the Torso. Our survey has made it clear that we are seeking no ordinary statue, but a figure of almost colossal size.

Part of just such a statue exists in the collection of the Vatican; and since nothing whatever is known about it except that it has been in the Vatican for a long time, its claim to be the Apollo of the group in which the Torso played the role of Marsyas must be considered.

This marble (PLS. 27-28) used to stand in the *Giardino della Pigna*, where Amelung recorded it for his

<sup>1</sup> 'Eq. 'Aqx. 1886, pl. 1.

<sup>2</sup> TILLYARD, *The Hope Vases*, no. 169 on pl. 27.

<sup>3</sup> FURTWÄNGLER-REICHOLD, pl. 87.

<sup>4</sup> TILLYARD, pl. 19, no. 122; pl. 23, no. 139; pl. 24, no. 145; cf. also the Marsyas fluting for a dancing satyr pl. 24, no. 142.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the similar and very frequent distinction in size between Dionysos and his satyrs, e. g. on the familiar Brygosa cup in the Louvre (PFUHL, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, III, fig. 426)

or in the painting from Pompeii (HERRMANN, *Denkmäler der Malerei des Altertums*, pl. 194) or the British Museum relief of "Dionysos at the House of Icarios (?)" (*Brit. Mus. Marbles and Bronzes: Fifty Plates* [1914], pl. 35).

<sup>6</sup> Vat. Cat. I, pl. 7, no. 41.

<sup>7</sup> Vat. Cat. III<sup>1</sup>, pl. 3, no. 495.

<sup>8</sup> Vat. Cat. III<sup>1</sup>, pl. 7, no. 516.

<sup>9</sup> Vat. Cat. III<sup>1</sup>, pl. 51, no. 582.



*Katalog* <sup>1</sup>. Later, at the time of the Helbig-Amelung *Führer*, it was to be found in the Chiaramonti wing <sup>2</sup>. Still later it was again moved, and it is now to be found erected in a niche in the immediate neighborhood of the Torso. The slope of the lower surface of the block naturally led to its present slightly misleading posture: in order to conform with the original pose, it should be tilted a little further to its own proper right and considerably further forward. The photograph (PL. 28 B) has tried mechanically to correct these deficiencies.

Represented is the upper portion, from a little above the knees to a little below the shoulders, of a heavily draped figure clad in a single long garment gathered in at the waist over a corded belt, whose long free tasseled ends hang fluttering on either thigh <sup>3</sup>. A strap or baldric runs diagonally from the right shoulder and ends above the left side of the waist against a projecting broken mass which attaches like a vertical wall to the back of the figure (PL. 27) and can only be part of the floating cape or mantle which distinguished the citharode Apollo. The baldric is consequently not a sword-belt <sup>4</sup>, but the carrying-strap for the cithara. No cithara or fragmentary indication thereof appears attached to the strap; there is a socket for a horizontal strut at the side of the figure in the drapery of the upper thigh, but this is too slight and small, and probably situated too low, to have served to support a cithara. Instead, it would indicate that the vertical edge of the mantle billows forward within reachable distance of the thigh; and the cithara may have been combined with the marble of this fold of the mantle. Such a reconstruction would indicate that the god was preparing to play, but was not yet actually sounding, his lyre <sup>5</sup>.

It may be inferred that the figure is not standing quietly erect with left leg raised upon some support, because such a pose would occasion a heavy fall of vertical drapery folds obscuring the other leg, as in the Apollo of the *Sala a Croce Greca* and countless other instances illustrative of this familiar differentiation between weight-leg and free-leg. On the contrary, the comparative transparency of the drapery on both thighs (coupled perhaps with the fluttering movement of the ends of the belt cord) shows that the figure is in the striding pose of the lyre-playing Apollo of the *Sala delle Muse*. The more prominent pendent folds covering the girdle at the figure's right should be explained as due to the forward motion of the right arm <sup>6</sup> which must therefore be reaching out, but is not yet carried across the body to the cithara held free in the left hand. The god is about to sound his lyre, therefore, but is not yet engaged in playing it.

The back of the statue is not at present visible, because of its installation in a shallow niche of the Vestibolo Rotondo. As far as it can be observed with the aid of mirrors, it shows, as would be expected, the panel back of the mantle, not the vertical folds of a chiton. Central catenaries are framed by vertical ridges running toward the points of the shoulders — a freer and more varied treatment of the theme familiar from the back of the Eirene of Kephisodotos. But owing to the difficulties of direct inspection, these comments must be subject to every reserve. The top of the statue is not broken, but shows two huge cavities hollowed out for reception of blocks of marble, on which must have been carved the shoulders, neck, and perhaps also head of the god. The junction between the various parts does not, however, indicate a change from draped

<sup>1</sup> Vat. Cat. I, p. 907, no. 230, pl. 120.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* I, p. 44 f., no. 71.

<sup>3</sup> That on the figure's left has been broken off, leaving only the attachment mark for the tassel, resembling the base of a *puntello* or strut.

<sup>4</sup> As Amelung interpreted it. The proximity of the seated Roma on the great Antoninus basis, still in the *Giardino della Pigna*, was probably responsible for Amelung's conception of our fragment as a Roma. The pendent folds over the girdle at the statue's right do not, however, derive from an *exomis* since, in that case, the general direction of the folds would have to run diagonally across the breast toward the left shoulder and would intersect the baldric approximately at right angles. On our fragment these folds clearly form part of a pendent loop entirely contained within a small area on the same side of the body, such as can only be explained in terms of a sleeved garment fitting loosely under the armpit. The loop of an *exomis* would, further, have to return under

the arm, crossing the back diagonally to the point of attachment on the left shoulder; and this is not possible on our statue (PL. 28 A). It should be noted that the garment cannot be a peplos, since there is no overfold and no seam or opening along the right flank (PL. 28 A). The mantle, which seems indisputable, forms a final insuperable objection to the identification as Roma.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the differences between the playing citharode in the *Sala delle Muse*, Vat. Cat. III<sup>1</sup>, pl. T, no. 516 and the waiting citharode in the *Sala a Croce Greca*, *ibid.* pl. 51, no. 582.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. the pendent folds in similar position on the Apollo of the *Sala a Croce Greca* (Vat. Cat. III<sup>1</sup> pl. 51). My inference is that the arm was sleeved at least to the elbow, as in the normal citharode costume, and raised and carried forward, but not brought fully across to the cithara since otherwise it would scarcely pass clear of the drapery.



to nude forms<sup>1</sup>, since the drapery folds would in that case become completely unintelligible. The upper surface of our portion of the statue has been prepared with anathyrosis and shows two large and deep dowel holes (one 7 cm., the other *ca.* 6 cm. in diameter). The cut with which the left leg ends is also original, and not a fracture; and as far as can be ascertained by ordinary inspection, the same is true of the other leg also. In short, we are not dealing with a fragment (in the sense of a broken piece) of a statue at all, but with a very well preserved and (except for the missing ridges of drapery once separately pinned in place) almost uninjured portion of a colossus built up out of discrete parts, cut separately and then assembled and fastened together.

As it now stands, this unit of the statue measures 1.30 m. in height, which represents slightly more than its actual vertical contribution to the figure properly posed. If the citharode Apollo of the *Sala delle Muse* and the Leningrad pelike be taken for counsel, the total figure should have been rather more than twice the height of the extant portion, so that the complete statue may have measured about 2.80-2.90 meters. This represents an increase of at least six inches over our calculated maximum expectations, and for this reason alone the combination with the Torso may have to be rejected. Reference may again be made to the Hope Vase for the traditional relation in size between the two contestants. If the Apollo as victor has any ulterior significance (*cf.* below), the contrast in size may have been deliberate. The seated Marsyas, when complete, could not have measured more than 2 meters in height, and this measurement, if the figure had been standing, would have become at most only 2.40 meters, so that there exists a definite and sensible difference of scale between the two statues. In the simplest terms, an 8-foot Marsyas would have been opposed to a  $9\frac{1}{2}$ -foot Apollo. However, such a discrepancy exists also in the pictorial tradition, as we have already noted.

The sculptural style of the fragment is more interesting and original than the photograph indicates. Close examination will show that many of the ridges in the lower portion which appear as flat narrow bands or ribbons have really been prepared to receive slender strips of marble, which were once attached with small metal pins or dowels. Many of the ridges therefore must originally have been highly salient. This most unusual technical procedure does not seem due to a repair of broken edges after some disaster to the statue, as the marble is otherwise practically uninjured. As has been pointed out, we are not dealing with the shattered remnant of a statue at all, and it would be quite impossible to account for the breakage of precisely these ridges amid their equally exposed, but completely uninjured, fellows. Occasionally there is a fresh marble fracture where these attached ridges have been torn away; but this proves precisely the opposite of a deliberate repair, since in general the marble has been sliced and smoothed to receive the marble attachments, indicating that the fresh breaks are new and have never been mended. The Renaissance would, of course, never have thus repaired an unrestored fragmentary piece of a statue, so that in any event only an ancient mishap can be here in question; but this, in my opinion, is excluded. The technique must therefore be a personal idiosyncrasy of the sculptor who, wishing to give high salience to some of his ridges, preferred this method to the painful removal of all the surrounding marble. Is it foolish to suggest that a chryselephantine artist, accustomed to apply gold plates in much this manner, might have transferred this method to marble statuary? It should be recalled that the Marsyas also was pieced together out of a seemingly needless number of blocks of marble — even though these do not take the form of narrow strips of stone, which would have had no utility for the nude.

In the upper part of the drapery, the variety in profile and movement to the various ridges is even more marked. There is nowhere the monotony of straightly even furrows burrowed out with the running drill, nor the hard contrast of light and dark, by which the copyist betrays the mechanical nature of his task. In a word, we are dealing with an original creation and not a copy, and with a virtuosity of drapery forms such as only the latter half of the Hellenistic Age ever produced.

But this workmanship, fresh and original and varied though it be, cannot properly be ascribed even to the second century B. C., since too many of the furrows in the cloth are merely countersunk depressions bordered by rigid walls, producing an effect of punched or hammered metal rather than of a pliant textile fabric. This may be thought to indicate a Roman date; but I know no Roman work to match it, and there is no technical detail in the execution of this drapery which cannot be paralleled (though on a smaller scale) on the

<sup>1</sup> As for example in the Fanciulla d'Anzio. In the Apollo, the size and weight of the material alone are sufficient to account for the execution in several separate pieces.



Laokoon. There is nothing of the extravagant wilfulness of second century B. C. baroque design; and there is far too much plastic variety and movement for the third century B. C. More than anything else, the style could be characterised as a deliberately exaggerated early-fourth century manner, and hence should most probably be ascribed to the neo-classic revival of the first century B. C. It would be impossible to deny categorically every claim to be Greco-Roman of the first century after Christ, but it is extremely doubtful whether it could possibly be later. Can such an eclectic fourth-century manner be reconciled with the more Pheidian style which competent observers have detected in the Torso?

What, after all, is the probability that this finely vigorous survival from some colossal draped statue is really the work of Apollonios Nestoros and ever formed part of a group together with the Belvedere Torso? The evidence may be summarised briefly:

1. The fragment derives from a striding citharode Apollo, such as the Hope crater and the Leningrad pelike show at rest upon a low platform, towering above the seated Marsyas.

2. It is not a copy or a slavish imitation, any more than the Marsyas of the Belvedere Torso is a copy or imitation.

3. Its style is neo-classic; its date, though debatable and at best uncertain, falls within a range which includes the activity of Apollonios.

4. Its scale may be criticised as over-large; but on the other hand, colossal citharode Apollos are of the utmost rarity, and such a one is expressly demanded by the Marsyas.

5. It is preserved in the same sculptural collection as the Torso, has apparently been there for a long time and, for all that can be determined, *may* have reached that collection together with the Torso.

Where a compelling and final proof is lacking, the play of coincidence, blind chance, or actual error in interpretation must always be given its proper share of credence. As it does not appear very probable that any further evidence will be forthcoming, the balance of the available probabilities must be taken in lieu of more conclusive verdict.

*Caveat lector!* The ultimate decision must lie with the professional students of archaeology.

It is only natural to wonder why so huge and no doubt costly a group of Marsyas and Apollo should have been set up at Rome, and whether the natural Roman interest in Greek mythology and love of Greek statuary would have been sufficient justification for the commission. Since Apollonios in signing the Torso with his name called attention also to his Athenian origin, it is probable that the work was not carved in his native town, but in Rome, whither we have seen reason to believe that he was called by Sulla to make the new chryselephantine colossus of Jupiter Capitolinus. If the huge marble Apollo of the Vatican was also indeed his, it too must have been made in Rome, perhaps on the very spot in which it was destined to stand, since its transportation and re-assembly would have been both difficult and precarious. If the block which we have been studying be calculated as equivalent to a marble cylinder one meter tall and 70 centimeters in diameter, it should weigh somewhat over 1000 kilos. Another block, not quite so high, but broader, and hence of much the same weight, would have formed the lower sector; a third, considerably smaller, would have formed the right shoulder and forearm; a fourth, the left shoulder, arm, and perhaps lyre; a fifth, the neck and head; and there would have been further minor accessory pieces. The host of little attached drapery ridges could only have been added after the bulk of the statue was erected. Is it too rash to suggest that a definite occasion and a definite purpose must have inspired so ambitious an undertaking?

Greek mythology had for centuries been pressed into service as a subterfuge for the glorification of contemporary exploits, whenever a direct representation of the deed was felt to be either artistically inappropriate or morally opprobrious through fear of the *ἄτη* which ever attended *ὑβρις*. The Gigantomachies, Amazonomachies, battles of Lapiths and Centaurs which adorned so many classical monuments were often only so many transparent references to the historical successes of the Greeks against the Persians. The frieze of the great altar of Zeus at Pergamon presumably constitutes a similar mythological allusion to the Attalid defeat of the Gauls. In similar vein, the Phrygian Marsyas with his Asiatic flutes may have represented Asia defeated by the civilised western world, whose god was Apollo. Had not the god's own sacred island, his birthplace of Delos, been sacked and destroyed by the Asiatic horde of Mithradates, and had not Apollo through the Roman arms of Sulla and Lucullus driven out and defeated the sacrilegious invader? The fact that Athens' sympathies had not been altogether with Apollo and against Marsyas would hardly have militated against the execution of such a fulsome allegory by an Athenian artist who had temporarily taken Rome for his fatherland and was deriving his livelihood from Roman patronage — and Sulla.



It is high time to return to the "Hellenistic Ruler", whose author (we have said) cannot have been Apollonios, as a comparison with either the Torso or the Seated Boxer will show. With the latter there are striking elements of comparison, such as the treatment of the back, the general tendency toward an exaggerated realism, the indication of body-hair entirely by subsequent cold incision; but there are equally striking elements of difference. Thus, the hair on the head of the Boxer is separated into more formally articulated strands, in contrast with which the Ruler's seem unprecise, clumsy, and lumpy; but this might, of course, be a deliberate difference of manner. It is harder to reconcile the magnificent anatomical precision, with which the toes and fingers of the Ruler are treated, with the carelessness of their counterparts on the Boxer. Particularly striking, on the Ruler, are such details as the tremendous protrusion of the ankle-bones on both sides of the foot, the powerful Achilles' tendon, the emphatic articulation of the knees, compared with the shallower and more perfunctory analysis of these forms on the Boxer. Although the Ruler may be criticised for a turgid magnification of Polykleitan forms, for a straining toward effect through anatomical over-emphasis, for a superhuman realism (if the paradox be possible), none the less all this is accomplished with a skill and sureness hard to equal in any other ancient work. It is perhaps not congenial to a modern public, which appreciates style above strength, and a seductive manner above frank reality; yet it is not too much to say that the Ruler is probably the finest ancient bronze in Italy and does not fall many places short of being the finest ancient bronze surviving anywhere. If this be overstatement, at least it is indisputable that technically the statue is a superb piece of casting and anatomically it betrays a schooling such as only a great master may possess. If Apollonios Nestoros was one of the leading artists of his day, we are surely justified in asking who then can be the master still greater than Apollonios, who produced the Ruler?

It would be a little easier to reply to this query, if it were possible to determine the Ruler's date with more precision. The similarity of manner in the indication of the dorsal muscles and in the engraving of the body-hair, as well as the general attitude of heightened physical strength in keeping with very far-reaching naturalistic observation, are warrant for an approximate contemporaneity with Apollonios. A different master of the same time and out of the same general school, must be the ultimate verdict.

The appearance of plastic portraits on the latest Roman Republican coins is also an indication of an incursion of Greek talent into Rome after Sulla's return from Athens. To this same movement must be ascribed the portrait-head of the Ruler. In the pose in which he appears, he can hardly be anything but a successful Roman military leader. It would be tempting to think that he might be Sulla, of whom Plutarch wrote:

"His personal appearance, in general, is given by his statues; but the gleam of his gray eyes, which was terribly sharp and powerful, was rendered even more fearful by the complexion of his face"<sup>1</sup>.

But Sulla was over fifty years old when he returned to Rome after the Mithradatic War; and further, his face as it appears on the coins minted by his grandson in 57 B. C. is too essentially different to be reconciled with the Ruler. But except for Pompey, whose countenance is abundantly familiar and utterly other, it is hard to name any outstanding military leader who would have been in his late thirties or early forties around 70 B. C. except Lucullus, who returned to Rome in 66 B. C. at the age of forty-four, after magnificent exploits, a wealthy man devoted to all things Greek.

There is, of course, no conclusive evidence of any sort to show that such an identification of the Ruler with Lucullus is correct. It is clear that stylistically and chronologically it is possible. It would be distinctly probable, if a much bruited suggestion that the type echoes the lost "Alexander-with-the-Lance" of Lysippos had anything to recommend it. For who else could the new Alexander of the Late Roman Republic be, unless it were he who had led his armies east to over-run Asia and, in Plutarch's partisan panegyric,

"was the first Roman to cross the Taurus with an army; he passed the Tigris and captured and burned the royal cities of Asia, — Tigranocerta, Cabira, Sinopé, and Nisibis, — before the eyes of their kings; he made his own the regions to the north as far as the Phasis, to the east as far as Media, and to the south as far as the Red Sea, through the assistance of the Arabian kings; he annihilated the forces of the hostile kings, and failed only in the capture of their persons, since like wild beasts they fled away into deserts and trackless and impenetrable forests"<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> PLUTARCH, *Life of Sulla*, II 1, tr. Bernadotte Perrin for Loeb Classical Library.

<sup>2</sup> PLUTARCH'S *Lives: Comparison of Lucullus and Cimon*, III 1-2, trans. B. Perrin for Loeb Classical Library.



But unfortunately, in the Herculean exaggeration of the Ruler's anatomy there is little to suggest Lysippos and nothing Alexander.

None the less, the haughty and unpopular Lucullus seems to glare out from the unforgettable face; but we must seek some other comparison than that with Alexander the Great if we would rescue the identification. The total absence of any attributes precludes any reference to Hercules in this Herculean frame. The manner is basically Polykleitan, but heightened and wilfully exaggerated into the super-athletic world of sheer physical power. What is the riddle of the allusion behind this curiously deliberate trick of style? And is it possible to make any suggestion of an artist who at this time might have worked in this manner?

If Apollonios was Sulla's chosen sculptor, Lucullus' *protégé* and favorite was Arkesilaos, — *L. Luculli familiarem* in Pliny's phrase, "whose very models for statuary were purchased (and that too by artists!) at higher prices than the finished work of other men"<sup>1</sup>. That this Arkesilaos was a younger man than Apollonios, or at any rate that he outlived him, is indicated by the commission with which he was entrusted to produce the next great cult statue for a Roman Temple, the Venus Genetrix in *Foro Caesaris*, dedicated in 46 B.C., nearly a quarter of a century later than Apollonios' chryselephantine Jupiter. By this time, Lucullus had been dead ten years. A statue of Fair Fortune (*Felicitas*) which Lucullus had commissioned him to make for the fabulous price of a million sesterces had never been completed<sup>2</sup>.

It is very frequently assumed that Arkesilaos worked in the affected archaising manner which is usually called neo-Attic. His Venus Genetrix is supposed to be little more than an adaptation of a well-known and very beautiful Attic type contemporary with the Sandal-binder Master of the Nike parapet. The model for a crater which Pliny ascribes to him — "he also made a plaster model for a talent for the Roman knight Octavius, who wished to have a crater made from it"<sup>3</sup> — could easily be imagined as a marble urn adorned with neo-Attic maenads, or perhaps as an eclectic work such as the Borghese Vase of the Louvre. The marble lioness "with winged Loves sporting around her" which Pliny mentions later<sup>4</sup> sounds trivial and unimportant. This group belonged to Varro, who "highly esteemed" the artist, and Varro's works were apparently scattered in the proscriptions of 43 B.C. Arkesilaos' determinable period of activity in Rome runs therefore from the sixties into the forties, and we have no evidence of any sort for setting the archaistic phase of Attic art so far in advance of the Augustan Age.

Pliny is mainly impressed by the high prices which Arkesilaos could command, and his remark about the great value placed on the original models would far sooner suggest (if Arkesilaos was indeed a younger competitor of Apollonios) such magnificently modeled *tours-de-force* as the Ruler rather than the empty and superficial graces of neo-Attic commercial products. The lioness taken captive by the Loves was manifestly intended as an allegory, such as would have pleased the Roman taste of the time: were not the sex so expressly stated by Pliny — *marmoream leonem* — one might almost explain the allegory in terms of the great warrior who had idly given himself up to the crassest epicureanism. As long as we know nothing more precise about the style and manner of his Venus Genetrix in Caesar's forum, we may do better to believe that in Arkesilaos we have the immediate successor of Apollonios Nestoros, carrying on the same traditions of superhuman strength and power in a marvelously expert style of expressionistic realism. And in that case it is not utterly absurd to suppose that the Ruler is his work. If indeed it represents Lucullus, it is almost certainly his.

<sup>1</sup> PLINY, *N. H.* XXXV 155.

<sup>2</sup> PLINY, *N. H.* XXXV 156.

<sup>3</sup> PLINY, *ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> PLINY, *N. H.* XXXVI 41.



The tradition of **Heroic Portraiture** or "Achillean" statues, embodied in the Ruler, may be traced several decades further through the "pseudo-athlete" from the House of the Diadoumenos in Delos<sup>1</sup> to the "Germanicus" by Cleomenes in the Louvre<sup>2</sup>. In the former the physical exaggeration of the Polykleitan anatomy still maintains itself, but with far less violence and vigor. As in the Ruler, a long neck towers inorganically out of the Torso, carrying a pitilessly realistic portrait head. The plastic freedom of pose has, however, given way submissively to the "quadrifrontality" of the Polykleitan canon, so that the statue has entered a classicistic phase of far less creative originality<sup>3</sup>. If Michalowski's date of *ca.* 50 B. C.<sup>4</sup> for the Diadoumenos Athlete be accepted, we have progressed the better part of two decades from the Ruler and are now close to the period of Caesar. With Cleomenes' statue, classicism has all but completely triumphed. And yet if one will but consider not so much the front of this figure as its great sloping back and shoulder-blades, it is apparent that something of the late Hellenistic naturalistic tradition survives even here. The drapery is far more naturalistic than could have been furnished by any classic prototype, and forms with that of the Diadoumenos from Delos and the "pseudo-athlete" a chapter apart in the history of Greek art. As in all the series under discussion, the head must be our clue to the date. Recently, Brendel has revived an old hypothesis enunciated by Six, and has argued that the youthful Augustus may be represented. Very strikingly he compares the Augustus head of the Capitoline<sup>5</sup> wherein the same small chin is deeply folded beneath the same tight narrow lips and the same puckered eyebrows impart the same expression of worried thoughtfulness. If the identification is correct, Cleomenes' statue should belong, according to Brendel's cogent reasoning, to the decade between the years 35 and 25 B. C.

The tradition of the heroic portrait statue has therewith been traced another twenty years into the early Augustan Age, but it must be admitted that it has lost all of its originality and vigor and come dangerously close to mere atelier classicisticism. The true thread for tracing the evolution of the Hellenistic portrait on Roman soil leads elsewhere — unless perchance the work of Cleomenes has been so scrubbed, scoured, polished, and restored that the head has really lost its pristine character and freshness. But in that event, also, it can be of little further use to us now. We shall learn far more by turning to the Augustus head in the Capitoline<sup>6</sup>.

But we are still without the proper link between the living Hellenistic inheritance, brought to Rome under Sulla and Lucullus, and the classic reaction which finally triumphed in the latter part of Augustus' reign. There is abundant material; but it has been studied too exclusively for its prosopographic aspect, too little for its stylistic interest. In the very center of attention, for either school of scholars, must be the Caesar portraits — both those which represent Caesar, as well as those which do not, but are stylistically akin. Prosopographically, Erich Böhringer's *Der Caesar von Acreale*<sup>7</sup> has carried the long-disputed question of the actual likeness of Julius Caesar close to its final solution. Stylistically, for the evolution of the technique of portraiture, there is much still to be written, enough certainly to fill a volume as large as the entire present study. Our immediate need must be satisfied with the inspection of only a few of these Caesar heads, beginning with that numbered 107 in the Museo Chiaramonti of the Vatican (PL. 29A)<sup>8</sup>. A comparison with the head of the Ruler offers much of interest and importance. The traditional manner of Hellenic sculpture, which still sufficiently informs the Ruler to explain the possibility of dispute whether he is a Greek or a Roman, has now been invaded by a heightened demand for actuality, for physical fidelity, by a desire to reproduce the man rather than to produce sculptural art. The sunken cheeks, the flat temples, the long straggling mouth, the protruding chin, all ruin the coherence and balance of forms, but also mark a final triumph in the age-long trend toward realism. A new public, quick to see in art its marvels of mimicry, but slow to apprehend any creation of forms transcending everyday actuality, has put the final pressure on the

<sup>1</sup> *Exploration archéologique de Délos*, XIII pls. XIV-XIX and pp. 17-22.

<sup>2</sup> Well illustrated in *Encyclopédie Photographique de l'Art*, III pls. 270-72.

<sup>3</sup> So MICHALOWSKI, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 63.

<sup>5</sup> BRENDL, *Röm. Mitt.* 50 (1935) pp. 251-8; pls. 27-8, to be compared with figs. 7-8 on pp. 252-3.

<sup>6</sup> Well illustrated in Brendel's article, *Röm. Mitt.* 50 (1935) pp. 252-3, from new photographs by Felbermeyer.

<sup>7</sup> To which must be added LUDWIG CURTIUS' article in *Röm. Mitt.* 47 (1932) 214-41 and POULSEN's sympathetic *Billeder af Pompejus og Caesar* (Studier fra Sprog- og Oldtidsforskning, nr. 168; Copenhagen, 1935).

<sup>8</sup> A.-B. 513-14; BÖHRINGER, pls. 24-5; CURTIUS, *loc. cit.*, pls. 49-51.



sculptor's talents. In the hair, the neck, the background and environment to the features, the old Hellenic forms persist; but the features themselves have lost almost everything of the old glyptic forms and strive only to take as it were a cast from fleshly reality. Only a wide appreciation and understanding of Greek art, in all its ideal greatness, could now save the art of the Greeks at work in Rome. Only a penetration of Greek culture into the Roman mind so thorough that even classic Greek art — Cicero's "things which they enjoy so much, for which we care so little" — could deeply impress its superiority, its desirability, its correctness on the Roman taste, only this could stem the realistic tide. Under Augustus this final penetration of Greek culture took place. And not until the passing of this great Hellenising movement, which before it ended had indelibly stamped Roman arts and letters as Greek, not until the time of Nerva, could the realistic movement (which marked sculpture's proper phase at this late stage of its evolution) again assert its rightful dominance. The eclipse of realism between the death of Caesar and the mature latter part of the reign of Augustus, when the official attitude toward Greek classicism had been formulated and imposed, is the key to Roman portraiture during the final decades of the first century B. C.

The four heads on PLATE 29 will illustrate the process of this change. All but the last presumably represent Julius Caesar but are not necessarily contemporary. The first has already been analyzed. In the second (Pisa, Campo Santo) the forms have been drawn together in the direction of the traditional Hellenic pattern of the features and the arbitrary or excessive plastic deformations have been softened. In the third (Florence, Palazzo Pitti) though the individualization of the features is still present, the unification of the forms has advanced to a typically classic coherence and co-ordination, from which it is now only a step to the frankly and deliberately classicising manner of the fourth head, the Augustus from Prima Porta.

Care must be taken to exclude from this series the bronze head of Caesar in the Ludovisi collection of the Terme Museum, which serves as frontispiece to the second edition of Paribeni's guide. This is a brilliant and absolutely typical product of the Renaissance. It displays no knowledge of the classical unity of surfaces, against which the features should form a foreground of essential patterns. Forehead, cheek, and chin have been disintegrated, and the whole face is built up out of a multiplicity of plastic shapes. Most of the specifically unclassic detail of the head recurs, point for point, as early as Donatello's Gattamelata (finished in 1453), although it is to be supposed that the specialist in the field would date the Caesar later. On the technical side, the bronze reproduces the spreading of the wet clay under the artist's thumb, particularly on the nose and above the upper lip, an effect which an ancient caster would have eliminated in the wax. There is a second and practically identical casting of this head in the Uffizi at Florence. All this, however, is intended merely parenthetically, lest our study of the transitional period between Republic and Empire be perturbed by so alien a document!

Another landmark in the progress of relapse from late Republican realism into Augustan classicism may be found in the Louvre's magnificent bust of Agrippa<sup>1</sup>. Obviously presenting a man of mature age, it must be dated not far from his death in 12 B. C. at the age of 51 years. The search for the living flesh, the meticulous likeness, is already losing ground. In many details we are closer again to the Hellenistic Ruler, since the resources of the second century Hellenistic portrait are here once more employed; but there is a more anxious care for the human appearance, less exuberance, a leaning toward less purely expressionistic means. In a word, the technique has lost imagination and grown more matter-of-fact in the process of adaptation to a more practical race. Plasticity disturbs the running quiet of the surfaces, particularly in the cheeks near the upper end of the jaw and in the region of the superciliar muscles. The ears protrude. The nose is modeled and attached, rather than carved into the spherical head-block. The expression of the mouth results from the mobility of the entire surrounding region, instead of being cut directly in place against an undisturbed environment, as in the earlier glyptic phase. Thus the plastic tradition is still in the ascendant. Classicism, in the sense of a deliberate re-evocation of fourth or fifth century mannerisms, is not yet apparent; but in the broader sense of a feeling for generic forms, for better balance and order, for more purely sculptural and artistic effect, classicism is already here.

In comparison with this highly conscientious compromise between realism and traditionalism, most of the heads of Augustus have patently been idealised. Yet the foci of plastic concentration (if they may so be called) remain the same. In such a head as the Augustus of the Capitoline, if one directs the attention to the upper point of the jaw, the superciliar regions, the immediate environment of the mouth, it will be

<sup>1</sup> *Enc. Phot. de l'Art*, III 275. Cf. also the head from Butrinto, UGOLINI, *L'Agrippa di Butrinto* (1932).



discovered that a considerable surface movement centers around each. A flattening or even hollowing of the temples is also a common mark of most of the heads of this period. These are the essential surviving elements of the realistic plastic tradition of the Late Republic, which only the most deliberate and slavish return to the classic inspiration of the glyptic Golden Age can entirely eliminate. By the presence or absence of these it should nearly always be possible to tell whether a head is post- or pre-Hellenistic, no matter how glyptic, how classical Greek, it superficially appears.

A dispute of thirty years' standing offers an excellent opportunity to test this very simple (and eminently logical) criterion. Studniczka's "Menander" was re-interpreted as

### Vergil

by Lippold without gaining many adherents to his cause. The original argument for Menander, after many years of more or less oral rumor and tradition, was finally printed by Studniczka himself in the *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum* for 1918<sup>1</sup> (pp. 1-31); and Lippold stated the case for Vergil in the *Römische Mitteilungen* for that same year (pp. 1-18), having previously adumbrated it in his monograph on *Griechische Porträtstudien*. The years passed unfruitfully for a debate that was very generally considered settled in Studniczka's favor, until J. F. Crome brought out his masterly monograph on *Das Bildnis Vergils*<sup>2</sup> and argued Lippold's thesis with new fervor and much new evidence. The older members of the profession still seem unconvinced. Yet surely we must find some weapon against the jibe (alas, only too richly deserved!) with which Frederik Poulsen, a great student of ancient portraits, characterised the whole discussion:

*Zunächst ist es natürlich unheimlich, dass die Archäologen bei allem Fleiss und Scharfsinn noch nicht sicher entscheiden können, ob ein Porträt der Zeit um 300 oder um 30 v. Chr. angehört*<sup>2</sup>.

Such a challenge cannot be left unheeded; for very shame, someone must pick up the gauntlet.

The head, which according to Crome's catalogue survives in no less than 88 ancient versions beside 10 modern imitations, is abundantly represented in the Roman galleries, though the finest examples are elsewhere. Of the three specimens in the Vatican, Crome's No. 27 (PL. 30 A) is a badly broken head, much restored, with lifeless cheeks and forehead and a miscut neck and throat; Crome's No. 29 (in the *Galleria Geografica* 1100) either was coarsely cut or has subsequently been violently cleaned with metal instruments, possesses a modern nose and chin, is pictorially effective at a distance, but does not bear close scrutiny, since the details are only cursorily executed; while Crome's No. 28 was once a strongly accentuated and excellent version, but has lost all of its original surface through erosion by water. Still, we may learn something of the more accentuated hollows and furrows, noting that the temples were very depressed, that the furrows across the lower jaw and behind the nostrils were stronger in the left than the right side of the face, that there was a slight sag to the flesh beneath the chin, and that the column of the throat was exaggerated, with a pit at the top above an enormous Adam's apple, unevenly modeled and drawing away toward the right. The neck shows three horizontal wrinkles and a compressed, nearly straight, vertical contour on the right; whereas there is a strong re-entrant curve to the salient mastoid on the left, thus indicating a marked tilt of the head toward the right shoulder.

The examples in the Terme (with one exception) yield little. Crome's No. 24 (from Genazzano), in the Large Cloister, is badly chipped and broken and much restored. Crome's No. 25 has been much gone over, patched, and polished, and has very carelessly cut hair. It shows the strong modeling of the somewhat sunken cheeks and indicates well the crowfeet at the corners and the pouches under the eyes; but otherwise there is probably little to be learned from it. Crome's No. 26 (PL. 30 B), quite correctly described on its pedestal as

<sup>1</sup> Mantua, Reale Accademia Virgiliana, 1935.

<sup>2</sup> Reviewing Crome's monograph in *Gnomon*, 1936, 91.



*Personaggio Romano I sec. a. Chr.*, is certainly the same head because of the tell-tale identification-marks for this type, which are the violent accentuation of the throat in terms of a salient central column in three horizontal divisions, enclosed by a powerful "V", and the distinction in the arrangement of the hair over the ears, that on the left being brushed *down* from above, while that on the right consists of much longer strands brushed *forward* from the back of the head; in addition, an unruly lock blows across the top of the forehead. This particular version is abnormally sharp, cold, and empty, perhaps because of the extensive modern resurfacing. There remains for serious study only the fourth version of the Terme, Crome's No. 23, which forms part of a double herm, being set back to back with a familiar type of Homer. This is in every way an excellent rendering of the head of "Menander-Vergil", and merits the closest scrutiny. We reproduce (PL. 30 c), by permission, one of the German Archaeological Institute's excellent photographs; the pertinent profile views will be found on plate II of Crome's monograph.

The details with which we have thus far become familiar will all be found in great clarity in this version, so that most of them will be apparent even in the printed illustration. The head is cast toward the right shoulder, forming horizontal wrinkles on the right side of the neck and a curving salience of the muscle on the left. The Adam's apple is much enlarged and set on a vertical column which disappears in the converging "V". The flesh under the chin is slightly pendent. The cleft of the chin under the lower lip is deep and narrow, adding unexpected salience to the chin below. The upper lip is mobile and sensitive. The cheekbones protrude, while the cheeks themselves are slightly sunken. The temples are concave, imparting considerable surface movement to the top of the jaw. The nostrils are distended and framed by heavy slightly ogival furrows which run out beyond the upper lip into the cheeks. The nose is aquiline, protruding below the low-set bridge (though not as markedly as in certain other versions). The entire region of the eyes is intensively modeled: the attachment of the upper cheek is carefully shown; the lower eyelids fold into soft pouches; the upper eyelids are set off from the eyebrow casing by a narrow groove; crow's-foot wrinkles are indicated at the outer ends of the eyes; the eyebrows indicate their muscular structure. The forehead is wrinkled, not merely by linear indication of furrows, but by movement of the surface. The hair shows the characteristic arrangement which always distinguishes this type. The surviving ear is modeled in place, not merely cut on the head.

Such a description, taken directly from the marble, will help to interpret the various appearances in Crome's own excellent photographs of the most important version known to date, the head which for many years lurked almost unheeded and unknown in the Seminario Patriarcale in Venice (PL. 30 D)<sup>1</sup>. Here at last may be seen what plastic variety attaches to every detail of this magnificent portrait. Details which have been suppressed or passed over in less careful reproductions find their full expression here. In addition to the hollow cheeks beneath the protruding cheekbones, the smooth contour of the jaw is interrupted, increasing the haggard expression and destroying the idealising contour which obscures the character of such an otherwise excellent version as the famous Boston herm<sup>2</sup>. The musculature of the eyebrows and forehead, the deep-set eyes and concentrated gaze, the flat temples, the salient columnar throat and heavily furrowed right of the neck, all take their proper part in a vividly plastic presentation of an individual of great intelligence, idealistic temperament, and invalid health. There can be no doubt that the features preserve a portrait likeness, but subject to the transmutations of an important sculptural tradition.

Those who still maintain in the presence of the Venice head that these are the sculptural resources of the Praxitelean School of the opening years of the third century B. C. must be asked to produce a single head from that period showing this fully developed plastic idiom, employing these same foci of expression, this same anatomically realistic control of non-linear physiognomic resources. Meanwhile, while these search for such a trophy, it should be our own corresponding task to demonstrate that precisely these elements are the normal characteristics of Late Republican and Early Augustan portraiture.

The Julius Caesar of the Capitoline is well illustrated on plate 157 of Hekler's album. It shows a style as severely precise as the least lifelike version of our "Vergil". But the foci of concentration are the same. The cheekbone protrudes, the cheeks are sunken, the jaw beneath projects to break the contour. The head slants inward across the concave temples. The muscular structure of the forehead bears direct reference to

<sup>1</sup> Crome pls. III, IV, V, VI.

<sup>2</sup> L. D. CASKEY, *Catalogue of Greek and Roman Sculpture*: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. No. 86, p. 163 f.



the action of the eyebrows. The aquiline nose shows the lateral attachment to the cheeks. The hard linear mouth is none the less surrounded by mobile surfaces. The ears are as though separately attached. Nothing could be more different, as far as personality is concerned, than the expression of these two heads; yet the essential sculptural resources are identical.

The various heads of Cicero<sup>1</sup> are another case in point (PL. 34 C), as is the completely antithetic "Brutus" of the Conservatori (PL. 34 B). Utterly different in racial type and general structure as these heads are from one another and from the Vergil, it is none the less from a manipulation of the same centers of plastic expression that they all derive their sculptural character. If one will but review the details once again —

- cheekbones, cheeks, and jaw; temples; eyebrow muscles; eye pockets and lateral attachments to the nose;
- nostrils and lateral furrows; mobile surroundings of the lips — it will be seen that the method is still the same, no matter what the idiosyncracies of the subject's personal appearance.

The Augustus of the Capitoline<sup>2</sup> is no different in sculptural method. The same foci are again in use, — the salient cheekbones with the depressed cheeks below and hollow temples above; the jawbone to break the contours; the contracted muscles of eyebrow and forehead; the extremely mobile frame to the mouth, extending up to either side of the nostrils. All these elements are treated with extreme delicacy and restraint, so that, by contrast, the "Vergil" borders almost on harshness and exaggeration; but if so, it is an exaggeration merely by intensification of the same plastic method, and a harshness only from emphasis of the same sources of expression<sup>3</sup>.

If from these indubitable Roman examples one turns back to the Azara Alexander the Great<sup>4</sup>, the fundamental difference of the preceding glyptic phase is instantly apparent. True, the cheekbone and jawbone are indicated, the muscles of the forehead appear, there are folds and changes of surface above and below the lips; but only an unschooled or a wilful eye can fail to detect the essential lack of plasticity in all these forms, even in the photograph. Instead of serving as foci of attention in an elastic surrounding medium, they are subservient to the plane in which they lie and to the controlling shape of the block of stone in which they are hewn. The surfaces move as though distended, as though a smothering surface-film were stretched over the anatomical prominences, not as though the individual formations were free to assert themselves in any direction without regard for ulterior unities or patterns.

- The Azara head inherits directly from the glyptic tradition of the fourth century Attic gravestones (how could it fail to do so?), and does not move on any different or more advanced evolutionary stage than
- the less personal and more ideal heads of the Ares Ludovisi or the Vatican Apoxyomenos (PL. 24) which were the starting-points of this discussion. The "Vergil" has nothing in common with this sculptural world. No lapse of thirty or forty years will bring the technique of the ateliers from the Lysippan to this, its ultimate phase. Whatever the "Vergil" may be, it is not a poet of the opening third century B. C. It is not Menander.

Thus far, our comparisons have been deliberately of style, not of type. It remains to show that the "Vergil" head, with all its particularities which make it recognisable and distinct amid the thousands of sculptured heads surviving from antiquity, is to be found in an environment which no one can mistake for other than Roman or for an instant claim to be Hellenic or Hellenistic.

A set of Roman historical reliefs came to light in or about A. D. 1500 and have been named from their first owner the Della Valle Reliefs. In 1584 these came into possession of the French government; and they may still be descried to-day, restored with plaster to make entire slabs or plaques, and built into the garden façade of the Villa Medici. As seen from far below at the ground level, their appearance is distinctly discouraging to the student of sculpture, who cannot fail to be surprised to discover in the excellent photographs taken many years ago for Petersen's monograph on the *Ara Pacis Augustae*<sup>5</sup> how serious, interesting, and important are the monuments of early Imperial art which are here inaccessibly immured.

<sup>1</sup> HEKLER, pls. 159-61.

<sup>2</sup> *Röm. Mitt.* 50 (1935) 252-3.

<sup>3</sup> For still another example of the 1st century B. C. Roman portrait in the plastic tradition consult the head of the Roman Magistrate in Sion House, well illustrated in POULSEN'S

*Greek and Roman Portraits in English Country Houses* (Oxford, 1923) No. 22, noting however that the nose is modern.

<sup>4</sup> *Encycl. Photogr. de l'Art* III pl. 194 A; HEKLER pl. 62 b.

<sup>5</sup> *Sonderschriften des Oesterreichischen archäologischen Institutes in Wien*, 11 (1902). Many of the wishes uttered by the



By the unfailing courtesy of the German Archaeological Institute's Roman subsidiary, three heads from one plaque of this Della Valle series on the Villa Medici façade are here (PL. 31) reproduced from the negatives still surviving from Petersen's studies. It would be thankless to complain that hair and eyes of the figures should have been cleaned of their accumulated dust and grime; but it is pertinent to point out that, were this beneficent act performed, the central character would lose much of his grim and sinister expression. He would, in fact, become one more example of our "Vergil". Set side by side with a profile view of the version in the Seminario Patriarcale in Venice, he betrays the same shape of head, the same high forehead crossed by two conspicuous horizontal wrinkles, deep-set eyes with crowfeet at the corners<sup>1</sup>, prominent and horizontally extended cheekbone, hollow temple and sunken cheek, aquiline nose on low-set bridge<sup>2</sup>, deep furrows invading the nose beyond the nostril<sup>3</sup>, updrawn lower lip, strong rounded chin with slightly pendent flesh underneath, prominent throat, and even (though the head on the relief is not thrown over toward its right shoulder) the heavy neck-folds on the right and curved deltomastoid on the left, borrowed seemingly from the tilted head of the statuary prototype. The hair falls in long wisps in front of the ear and, above, is brushed forward from the back of the head — a characteristic mark of this particular head. The only difference in the parting of the hair, which on the relief occurs on the right instead of on the left. How important this single departure from the prototype is to be considered, must be left to the judgment of others. Except for this detail, we find lineament for lineament the "Vergil-Menander" head on the toga'd body of a Roman.

Two verdicts are open, — either one disastrous for the identification as Menander. Either the person on the relief was intended for the same person as the famous head under discussion; or we are dealing with two different persons but an identical sculptural type, which the relief establishes as part of the Roman repertoire. In either case our "Vergil" becomes a Roman of the Early Imperial period.

But let us leave this intriguing relief for the moment, and returning to the sculptural head, which fits so undeniably into the Roman sculptural tradition, let us ask, "Who is this Roman?"

With the stylistic issue so clearly prejudiced in favor of an Early Imperial date, the well-presented arguments of Lippold and Crome acquire compelling force. The version in the Ashmolean is adorned with the ivy wreath of the poet. What Roman poet can stand back to back with Homer (as in the Terme double herm) if not the epic poet of the *Aeneid*? Another ideal literary portrait from the same environment as the Homer, the "pseudo-Seneca", has recently been claimed for Hesiod with great plausibility. What Roman poet can stand back to back with Hesiod (as in the double herm of the Villa Albani), if not the author of the *Georgics*? (To be sure, one of the best reasons for thinking that this head represents Hesiod is precisely its collocation here with Vergil, so that the charge of arguing in a circle is eminently correct. But the strict logician will be interested to find that much archaeological proof is precisely of this sort: it becomes wholly a question of the number of terms comprised and the tightness with which the circle is closed upon itself, to determine how "vicious" the circle may be). And who would be copied over and over again, and discovered in so many parts of the literate Roman world, if not Rome's most national poet? And finally, of whom could such a portrait have been made, with realism and idealism marvellously blended, as in the very best of the great Augustan portraits, if not of Augustus' own official poet?

What do we know of Vergil's personal appearance? Only what we find in Donatus' life of Vergil (section 8), which, however, seems to come from so close a source as Suetonius and is by no means empty of

author in his preface have been fulfilled in the Italian Government's brilliant reconstitution of the Ara Pacis; but the world of scholarship still waits for the realisation of that part of Petersen's hopes for the future which he expressed in the words (p. vi):

*Die in der Villa Medici eingemauerten Reste, die zu den schönsten und wichtigsten Theilen des Ganzen gehören, dürfen nicht der langsam, aber sicher fortschreitenden Zerstörung durch die Witterung ausgesetzt bleiben. Durch wetterfeste Abgüsse ersetzbar, müssen sie einmal herausgenommen werden aus der Wand, an sicherem Orte dem Genuss der Kunstfreunde, dem Studium der*

*Künstler, der Forschung der Kunstgelehrten zugänglich gemacht werden.*

<sup>1</sup> Better shown in the front view of the Venice head, CROME, *Das Bildnis Vergils*, pl. III.

<sup>2</sup> For the nose cf. the Boston herm, CROME, pl. x, and the Corneto (Tarquinia) (Brandegge) head, STUDNICZKA, *loc. cit.*, pl. 7, 1, on both of which versions may be detected the distended nostrils of the Della Valle head.

<sup>3</sup> Particularly conspicuous on the Corneto head, STUDNICZKA, *op. cit.*, pl. 9, 3, the Terme double herm, CROME, pl. II, fig. 4, and the Corfu head, Crome, pl. VIII, fig. 17.



content. *Corpore et statura fuit grandi* [al. *grandis*]. Here we cannot judge, — unless we identify the figure in the Della Valle relief with Vergil, and note that he is considerably taller and sparer than the foreground figure beside him. *Aquilo colore, facie rusticana*. The second phrase has been much abused in translation, as though it signified a countenance of peasant type, quite literally “with the face of a rustic”. I fear that only an archaeologist could be guilty of such Latinity. *Facies* is “general appearance”, which can include such details as how one wore one’s clothes or cut one’s hair or carried oneself in public; *rustica* is normally the antithetic epithet to *urbana*. Sappho’s

ἀγροίωτις ἀγροίωτιν ἐπεμμένα.....  
οὐκ ἐπισταμένα τὰ βράχε’ ἔλκεν ἐπὶ τῶν σφύρων

(fr. 23: Athen. I 21 bc)

would have been liable to a similar remark. A lanky country lad may have come to Rome and never felt himself quite at home amid the fine folk of the city. Judging from the bust, he wore the poet’s long hair, which he combed unevenly forward over one ear, leaving an unruly lock straying across his forehead. Within the limitations of an idealising sculptural style, I can imagine no more successful characterisation of the phrase *facie rusticana*. “*Valetudine varia: nam plerumque a stomacho et a faucibus ac dolore capitis laborabat, sanguinem etiam saepe reiecit: cibi vinique minimi* [al. *minime*]”. The bust shows in every lineament a sick man who triumphs over his infirmity. A medical specialist might perhaps have an opinion whether the superficial indications are those of a consumptive or of a sufferer from ulcer; but that the head and the description in Donatus are in very far-reaching agreement is patent even to the layman. The head represents a person in middle age, whom physical suffering has wasted beyond his years: possibly a man of forty-five or so. Vergil attained fame with his *Georgics* in his middle thirties, but did not begin his masterpiece the *Aeneid* until his forties; he died less than a month before his fifty-first birthday. It is therefore the mature poet of the *Aeneid* whom the sculptor has immortalised. The modern world has wilfully refused to recognise this magnificent likeness of the aging invalid poet still at the full height of his genius — one of the world’s greatest poets still alive and before our eyes in one of Rome’s finest portraits.

With hesitation rather than reluctance, I return to the intriguing problem raised by the Della Valle relief. Why should this bystander, apparently watching an oncoming procession, correspond so strangely to the sculptural likeness of Vergil, unless he indeed be Vergil himself? There is nothing inherently improbable in the occurrence of such a portrait upon a Roman relief of the Early Empire. The successful identification of various characters on the Ara Pacis frieze has proved the veristic intention behind these ceremonial scenes, in which real people in real costume are in attendance. And now it transpires that the Della Valle reliefs come from a counterpart to the Ara Pacis — the Ara Pietatis Augustae.

Apparently, Sieveking in 1907<sup>1</sup> was the first to express substantial and reasoned doubts of the then current attribution of the Della Valle reliefs to the Augustan Ara Pacis. As time went on and more of the Ara Pacis was assembled and its precise architectural structure more fully determined, it became increasingly clear that there was not physical space available to incorporate the Della Valle fragments in the Ara Pacis. With the final reconstruction of the altar in most recent times, no possible argument remained.

All the Della Valle reliefs seems to have the same provenance, though the exact place and date of their finding is obscure. In 1584 they all came together into French possession. Since they agree in material, dimensions, and style, they must all be part of the same monument. The long-standing error of thinking that this monument was the Ara Pacis strongly suggests that a memorial similar to the Ara Pacis is involved.

In 1923 and again in 1933 important new evidence materially altered a seemingly insoluble problem. In those years, fragments of reliefs were found near Santa Maria in Via Lata, a district from which the Della Valle reliefs might very plausibly have been recovered, and these too seem to agree in material, dimensions, and style so accurately as to leave no doubt that they come from the same original monument. A decorative garland strongly recalls the Ara Pacis and suggests not merely another altar, but a deliberate *pendant*. Such a counterpart to the Ara Pacis is known to have been vowed by Tiberius in A. D. 22 and finally dedicated by Claudius in A. D. 43, under the title of *Ara Pietatis Augustae*. Recent archaeological opinion believes that the reliefs under discussion actually derive from this monument<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Jhf.* x (1907) 175–81.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the most recent discussion of the entire problem

by R. BLOCH, L’“*Ara Pietatis Augustae*”, in *Mélanges d’Archéologie et d’Histoire de l’École Française de Rome*, LVI (1939) 81–120.



If the five Della Valle reliefs on the Villa Medici are associated with the new fragments, it appears that the main frieze of the altar illustrated processions and sacrifices and included a representation of the façades of three temples with sufficient accuracy of detail to make probable the identification of two as the Temple of Mars Ultor in the forum of Augustus (dedicated in 2 B. C.) and that of Magna Mater on the Palatine (burned in A. D. 3 and rebuilt by Augustus); and possibly the exquisite Ionic tetrastyle with a combat scene in the pediment, now in the Museo Mussolini<sup>1</sup>, was the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine (dedicated in 28 B. C., and later restored and apparently altered by Domitian). The great religious architectural activity of Augustus in Rome thus seems to have been rehearsed in this Claudian monument to his memory, which appears therefore to have had a retrospective and historic note, as though it were a *mostra Augustea* for the *Fondatore dell'Impero*. In the scene in which "Vergil" appears as a spectator (PL. 32), the *camillus* carrying the statuette of a *lar* betokens a religious function and procession of some sort. It is possible that this portion illustrated the celebration of the *Ludi Saeculares*, instituted by Augustus on May 31, 17 B. C. and re-celebrated by Claudius when the calendar permitted such an event, four years after his dedication of this Ara Pietatis Augustae.

By May 31, 17 B. C., Vergil had been dead for more than a year. But a retrospective review which included in the same continuous composition temples dedicated in 28 B. C., in 2 B. C., and after 3 A. D., together with a scene of the year 17 B. C., might not have hesitated to include the features of famous Augustans, even if they were not all strictly contemporary, and might have trusted either to public ignorance of history or to mere artistic convention in allowing Vergil to be present at an event which he did not actually live to behold. On the occasion of the Augustan *Ludi Saeculares*, as everyone knows, *carmen composuit Q. Horatius Flaccus*. If Vergil is actually represented, his two companions should likewise be drawn from the Maecenatan official poetic circle. The handsome and more youthful figure who touches Vergil and clings so close to him should be Propertius, who so un-reservedly admired the elder poet and at the time of Vergil's composition of the *Aeneid* was attracting all Rome's attention with his love poems to Cynthia. And who else could the short, stout, lightly bearded figure be upon the other side, if not Horace, five years younger than Vergil, with his black hair not yet beginning to fail, the slightly untidy and self-indulgent bachelor whom we seem to know so well from his own poems? And if he *carmen composuit* for the very occasion here rehearsed, it would be but appropriate for him to appear in high relief and to stand (as he does) much more prominently in front of his comrades than the photograph suggests.

Almost contemporary portraits of Propertius, Vergil, and Horace! Of such a seductive hypothesis one can only say, with Faust,

*Verweile doch! du bist so schön!*

lest, like the fleeting moment, it vanish from our view. Can we give any credence to an identification which allows Vergil, already dead for 20 months, to be present, staring past his living and successful successor? Even in A. D. 43, sixty years after the event, would the anachronism have been permitted, or passed unnoticed, or been deliberately overlooked for sake of a desire to show together the three great poets of the never-again-equalled Early Augustan flowering of letters, the three who might be taken as the literary umpires of the great Augustan era and of this famous Augustan festival? To some ears, the argument will ring thin. But if it be worthless, why then does the central head of the triad on the relief mimic the Vergil head so closely, even to the extent of copying the details of the bent neck for a figure standing erect and turned in the wrong direction for these anatomical indications? And if it be objected that, in this event, only the head and not the body can have been copied from the famous Vergil statue, one has only to glance at the close toga'd throngs of the Ara Pacis to see that it is precisely by emphasising only the individual features of the faces that the Augustan court was immortalised.

<sup>1</sup> MUSTILLI, p. 107; pl. LXIII, 250; LXIV, 252.



## Menander and Others

The elimination of the Vergil head from the ranks of the contestants for the title of Menander, inevitable on the unappealable verdict of style, far from simplifying the actual Menander problem, throws it into utter confusion. I must assume familiarity with Studniczka's classic article, *Das Bildnis Menanders*<sup>1</sup>, so that such terms as the *imago clipeata* of Marbury Hall and the drawings from Orsini's *Illustrium Imagines* convey their proper meaning. The Lateran relief of "the Comic Poet (or Actor) and his Muse" may be ruled out as irrelevant, as the poet obviously cannot be our Vergil (whom to my eye he does not in the least resemble) and is not otherwise involved as Menander. The Marbury Hall medallion in high relief<sup>2</sup> is inconspicuously labeled Menander ("auf der Unterseite des schwachen Rahmens . . . leicht eingegraben und jetzt ziemlich verschleuert")<sup>3</sup>. Here there are only three reasonable possibilities: (1) the label is modern; (2) the label is ancient, but mistaken; (3) the label is ancient, and correct. The first possibility seems universally discarded; and, no doubt, any modern ascription would have been more insistent and conspicuous. The similarity to Vergil seems to me very dubious, since in any case the forms are not directly derived from the famous (and presumably ubiquitously standard) head which we have been discussing in such detail. Why should it not, then, be Menander, as it claims to be? Because the other medallion image of Menander (the *imago clipeata* of Orsini, which survives only in discrepant drawings) depicts in its most reliable versions<sup>4</sup> an utterly different person who, to make mystification worse, bears an undeniable resemblance to the seated poet in the Vatican, whose statue is inscribed "Poseidippos"! Before we can hope to explain this weird series of mutual contradictions, it is essential that we face the fundamental issue raised by the two companion poets of the Vatican.

These statues are well illustrated on pl. 110 of Hekler, with a detail of their heads alone on pl. 111. To the latter we shall first turn our attention. Although the two statues were found together and are certainly *pendants*, being made of the same quality of marble and representing two figures rather similarly posed, on almost identical cushioned chairs, and costumed alike, even to the high Roman shoes (or low boots) once added in bronze, — nevertheless, a fundamental stylistic difference is apparent in the heads, since "Poseidippos" belongs to the glyptic, his companion to the plastic, tradition of portraiture. We have only to rehearse the list of the familiar foci of expression in order to see that "Poseidippos" (PL. 33 A) possesses the running contour, smooth cheeks, linear eyebrows and eyelids, patterned nose and mouth, of the earliest Hellenistic portraits. Seen from the side, the head sits hunched in the solid block, much as does the mislabeled "Chrysippos" in the Villa Albani (PL. 34 D). Add to these considerations the extremely simple drapery style, in which the almost unbroken surfaces define the cubical volumes of the quiet pose, and a dating to the Attic school of the first quarter of the third century B. C. becomes obligatory. At just this time Poseidippos was exhibiting his comedies (he seems to have shown his first composition in 289 B. C.); but also at just this time (ca. 293/2 B. C.) Menander died. The companion to "Poseidippos" (PL. 33 B) has the salient jaw, the double chin, the concave cheeks beneath the convex protrusion of the cheekbone, the lips within a mobile frame, the pouchy lower eyelids with crowfeet at the corners, the thin upper eyelids under protuberant fleshy eyebrows, the nose (despite its modern tip) which refuses to fit into the facial plane, all so characteristic of the Roman portrait deriving from Late Hellenistic tradition. Only in the lack of muscular articulation above the eyebrows, in the purely linear forehead, and the close linear hair, has a use of the plastic style been abandoned — by no means an unusual phenomenon in Roman portraiture of the earliest Augustan

<sup>1</sup> Reprinted from vol. 41 (year 21), *Neue Jahrbücher f. d. kl. Altertum* (1918), 1-31, already cited.

<sup>2</sup> *STUDNICZKA, op. cit.* pl. 6, 2; pl. 7, 2; *CROME, op. cit.*, pl. xx, fig. 45.

<sup>3</sup> *STUDNICZKA, op. cit.*, p. 11.

<sup>4</sup> *CROME, op. cit.*, pl. XXI; cf. *STUDNICZKA, op. cit.*, pl. 8, 2.



times. The contrast in the two necks is also significant. Further, the drapery is of a different order from that of the "Poseidippos", being very pliant, but in a hard metallic manner, due to the sudden vertical sinking of the depressions, instead of the rolling resilience natural to heavy cloth. This manner is, among other occurrences, good Early Imperial Roman. Hence, unless Poseidippos' companion is a purely imaginary Roman invention, he cannot be intended for Menander.

Who would be an appropriate Roman counterpart to our Greek writer of comedies? It is known to everyone that comedy had practically disappeared by the Late Republic and that, at most, the mime kept some spark of drama alive. The great days of Latin comedy coincide with the lives of Plautus and Terence, with whose passing the comic drama passes also. A mimograph was scarcely literary artist enough to bear comparison with Poseidippos; otherwise we should have to think of the rich Laberius (106-43 B.C.), who, as a Roman knight, composed but did not care to act his mimes, or his contemporary, Publilius Syrus, who acted, but apparently did not publish<sup>1</sup>. On the other hand, though either Plautus or Terence would be eminently fitted to uphold the honor of Roman comedy against any Greek forerunner, their deaths in 184 B.C. and 159 B.C. put them much earlier than any contact of Roman art with Hellenistic traditions, such as could have produced the Vatican statue. Our problem therewith remains not merely unsolved, but seemingly unsolvable, — unless indeed some rich *littérateur* like Liborius had himself matched with a great Greek rival, long dead, to make a pair of statues for his garden "casino"!

The difficulties are merely increased by the astonishing observation, seemingly first made by Lippold<sup>2</sup>, that the Menander head of the lost Orsini medallion-relief strikingly resembles the Poseidippos of the Vatican. If we accept this observation as correct, we shall have to admit several logical possibilities:

- (A) The two heads reproduce the same prototype; then either
  - (1) the Orsini medallion was wrongly inscribed Menander and should have been labeled Poseidippos, or
  - (2) the Vatican statue was wrongly inscribed Poseidippos and should have been labeled Menander.
- (B) The two heads are merely stylistically related, as befits the near-contemporaneity of the two poets; then
  - (3) both the Orsini medallion and the Vatican statue may be correctly inscribed.

Here one may freely take one's choice. There is little further evidence. Of the living Menander's appearance we hear only<sup>3</sup> that he was στραβός, which must mean that he squinted, and that he was εὐφρέστατος πανύ, which may refer to his cleverness of mind and readiness of wit rather than to his physical constitution. The Monnus mosaics in Trier<sup>4</sup> have already done damage enough to the cause of Greco-Roman iconography; but apparently their late and careless renderings can be utilised for pose, although not for facial likeness. The Vergil of the mosaic reflects the elongated neck, the upturned gaze, and tilted head of the famous bust; the Menander of the mosaic indicates a markedly short and heavy neck, whose line spreads out to the shoulder and is enveloped by a himation drawn high behind it. For what this may be worth, we here have reproduced the precise physical peculiarity of the Vatican Poseidippos<sup>5</sup>; and a very similar contour seems to be deliberately indicated in the convex shoulder-line of the headless herm in Turin bearing the name of Menander<sup>6</sup>. As it is not in the least likely that the draftsman copying the Orsini medallion merely substituted the head of the recently discovered Poseidippos statue (found between 1585 and 1590; the drawing by Gallaeus appeared 1607), the weight of the evidence, such as it is, inclines to Solution (2) and suggests for the Vatican "Poseidippos" that in the little man seated hunched up and frowning we may actually have Menander. It must be granted that, in that case, it is impossible to explain why the much less famous name

<sup>1</sup> On both of these cf. conveniently SCHANZ-HOSIUS, *Geschichte d. Röm. Literatur*<sup>4</sup>, in MÜLLER-OTTO, *Handbuch d. Altertumswissenschaft*, I (1927), pp. 257-63.

<sup>2</sup> *Röm. Mitt.* XXXIII (1918) pp. 4, 5, figs. 1-2.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. PAULY-WISSOWA, s. v. Menandros.

<sup>4</sup> *Antike Denkmäler*, I pl. 48.

<sup>5</sup> Compare *Röm. Mitt.* XXXIII (1918) 12, fig. 5 with HEKLER 110a.

<sup>6</sup> STUDNICZKA, *Das Bildnis Menanders*, p. 5 fig. 3. It is strange that it could ever have been thought that the Vergil head would fit on this drawn-up shoulder; contrast the slightly convex and nearly horizontal shoulder-line of the Boston herm in HEKLER 106 or CASKEY's Catalogue, p. 163.



of Poseidippos came to be engraved on the statue-base. The letters (visible in Amelung's *Vatican Katalog* II pl. 54) are epigraphically most plausibly to be ascribed to the Late Republic or Early Empire, and therefore should have been cut at the same time as the statue. Although the technical execution of the two companion poets is by no means identical<sup>1</sup> the identity of the Pentelic marble, together with the occurrence of bronze *calcei* on both statues, would make it extremely difficult to argue that the "Poseidippos" was an older piece for which a *pendant* was deliberately made in Roman times, the name of Poseidippos being added at that later period<sup>2</sup>. That is all the evidence discernible at present. But it is far better to state the argument with a full confession of failure than to ignore the evidence because of the irreconcilable conclusions in which it seems to terminate. Somewhere in all this tangle may lie the clue which will lead a more fortunate searcher to the final explanation. In any case, there is nothing in the tangle with which to trip the feet of him who is ready with Lippold and Crome to believe that the Studniczkan head is Vergil.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. AMELUNG's verdict in his *Sculpturen des Vaticanischen Museums* II, p. 579.

<sup>2</sup> We may judge that Poseidippos was known by name and fame to the Romans from GELLIIUS II 28, 1: *comoedias*

*lectitamus nostrorum poetarum sumptas ac versas de graecis, Menandro aut Posidippo aut Apollodoro aut Alexide et quibusdam item aliis comicis.*



#### ADDENDUM

##### *to page 56 on the Interpretation of the Ludovisi Throne*

When the main body of the text was composed, the writer was only too acutely aware that the persistent nature of Greek iconographical representation demanded that Eileithyia with her attendants must already have existed in Greek art and could scarcely have been invented by the designer of the Throne relief; but it had not occurred to him that the type was in truth already familiar to us all, until chance brought further consideration of the well-known relief on an early clay pithos from Boeotia, now in the National Museum in Athens. It is poorly reproduced in the Greek journal in which it was first published by Wolters<sup>1</sup>; most of the central group is very well given in the photograph in Buschor's *Die Plastik der Griechen*, p. 14, from which it has recently been borrowed for fig. 9 of Frederick Grace's valuable study on *Archaic Sculpture in Boeotia*. The relief has been not infrequently discussed, and the identity of its chief figure with the Birth-goddess had in fact already strongly recommended itself to its first editor, who recognized also the similarity of the scene represented to that upon the Ludovisi Throne; he returned to the theme in his later years, and presented an admirable plate of the entire composition, in *Festschrift Heinrich Wölfflin zum 70. Geburtstage* (1935)<sup>2</sup>, pp. 171-6, where he wrote: *Ich hielt mich* (in the original publication) *...für berechtigt, den sogenannten Thron Ludovisi in gleichem Sinne zu deuten und halte daran fest.* A standing figure, distinguished as Artemis *potnia thērón* by the heraldic lions which frame her, wears a *polos* and flowing vine tendrils on her head. She is dressed in an enormous diapered and ungirt *chiton* which hangs like a broad curtain from her neck to her ankles. Her forearms are bent upward from the elbows, her hands upstretched with fingers spread in the birth gesture for easy delivery. Two tiny handmaidens assist her, seemingly supporting her with their shoulders under her armpits and reaching each an arm across her voluminous body as though to still her pains. In Boeotia, Eileithyia was identified with Artemis; and this Artemis with her two handmaids can only be Eileithyia with the twin Γενετυλλίδες. More remarkable, we need but humanize the scale, as fifth century canons demand and seventh century conventions disdained, and with the three figures of selfsame size, the Boeotian pithos relief will automatically become the central composition of the Ludovisi Throne. Artemis with her *polos*, vine tendrils, and lions has disappeared, and the attendants no longer crudely lay their hands upon the swelling body; but the essential elements remain, to make us wonder whether the Ludovisi Throne Goddess really grasped her handmaids' shoulders as in the Leipzig restoration or — held up her open fingertips in the gesture which more than anything else would serve to identify her for Greek eyes.

<sup>1</sup> 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1892, pls. 8, 9; text 213-40.

<sup>2</sup> This reference I owe to my Bryn Mawr colleague, Dr. Valentin Müller.



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B. Reconstructed Diskobolos, Terme.  
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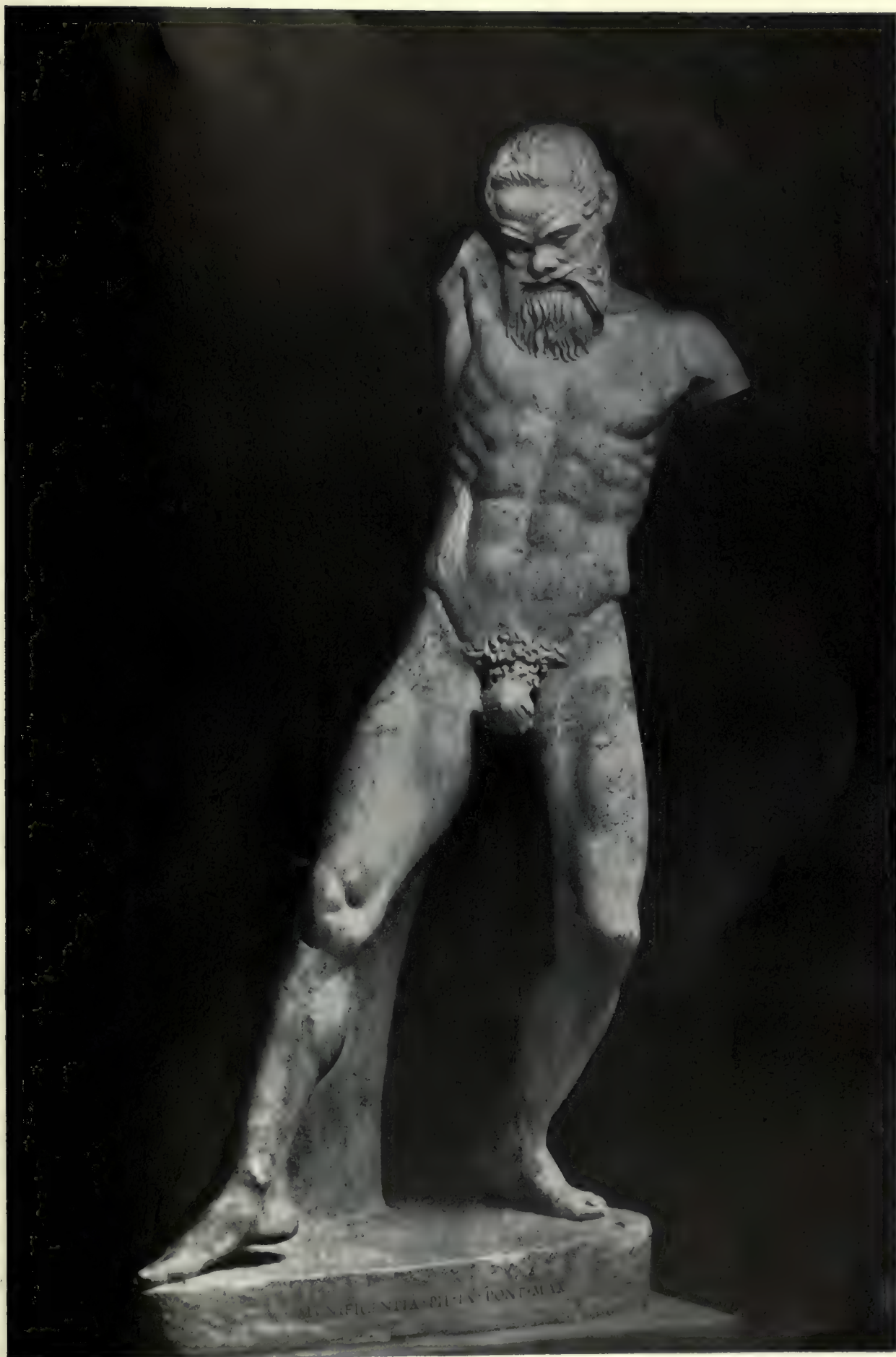


A. Castel Porziano Diskobolos, Terme.  
*Photo. Alinari 17933.*









Lateran Marsyas, traditional view.

*Photo. Anderson 1897.*









A. Head.



B. Tail.

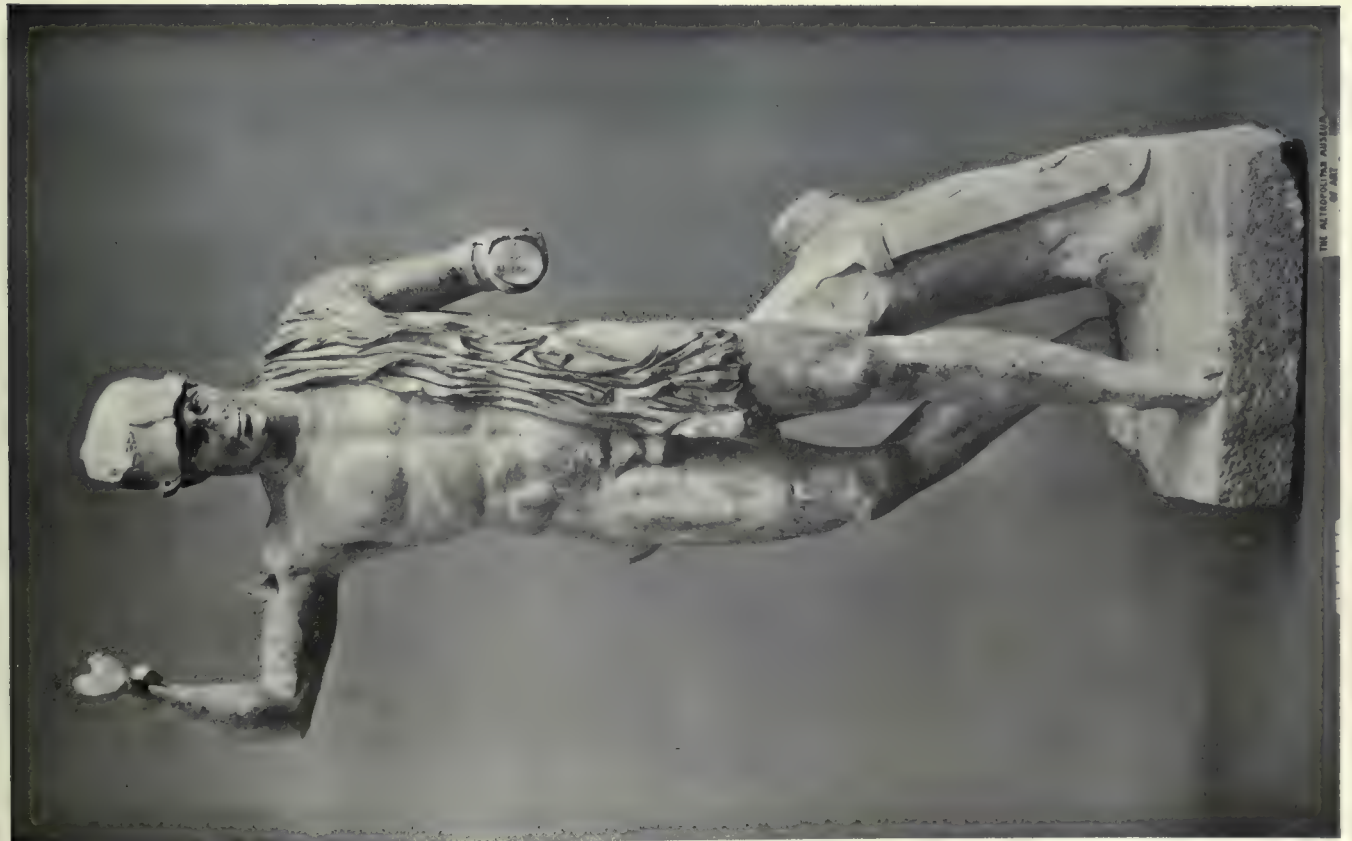
Lateran Marsyas.

*Photos, Vatican XVIII. 20, 3. XVIII. 20, 2; courtesy of Commendatore Bartolomeo Nogara.*









A.



B.

Protosilaos, Metropolitan Museum.

Photos, Metropolitan Museum; courtesy of Dr. Gisela M. A. Richter.









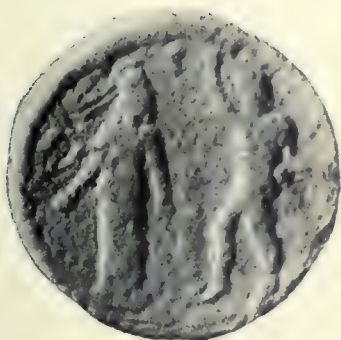
Lateran Marsyas, profile.

*Photo. Vatican XV. 2. 28; courtesy of Commendatore Bartolomeo Nogara.*









A. Enlarged Coin, Athens.

RICHTER, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*,  
fig. 588; photo. by courtesy of Dr. Gisela M. A. Richter.



B. Enlarged Coin, Munich.

Photo. by courtesy of Staatliche Münzsammlung, Munich.



C. Castel Gandolfo Torso of Marsyas.

Photo. Vatican II. 98. 21; courtesy of Commendatore Bartolomeo Nogara.









A. Persens Head.  
*Photo. Uinari 28054.*



B. Palatine Head.  
*Photo. Uinari 2048.*









B. Palatine Head.

*From a cast: photo. American Academy in Rome.*



A. Persicus Head.

*Photo. Alinari 58055.*









Youth from Subiaco.

*Photo. Anderson 2162.*









B.



A.

Youth from Subiaco.  
*Photos. Champoixier 1623, 1623a*









Youth from Subiaco.

*Photo. Alinari G270 a.*









Stumbling Niobid, Terme.

*Photo. Chauffourier 1720.*









B.



A.

Esquiline Venus.

*Photos. Albani 27207, 27208.*









Esquiline Venus and Cyrene Venus compared.

*Photos, Alinari 6050, Anderson 28695.*









Lo Spinario,  
*Photo, Alterocca 20.*









A. Marble Head, Museo Mussolini.

*Photo. by Faraglia; courtesy of Commendatore Settimo Bocconi.*



B. Basalt Eros, Terme.

*Photo. Alinari 7044.*



C. Marble Head, Museo Mussolini.

*Photo. by Faraglia; courtesy of Commendatore Settimo Bocconi.*



D. Lo Spinario, head.

*Photo. Alinari 6040 b.*









Ludovisi Throne, front.  
*Photo. Anderson 3299.*









Ludovisi Throne, wings.  
*Photo, Anderson 3332.*









Ludovisi Throne, corner view.  
*Photo. Alinari 2012.*









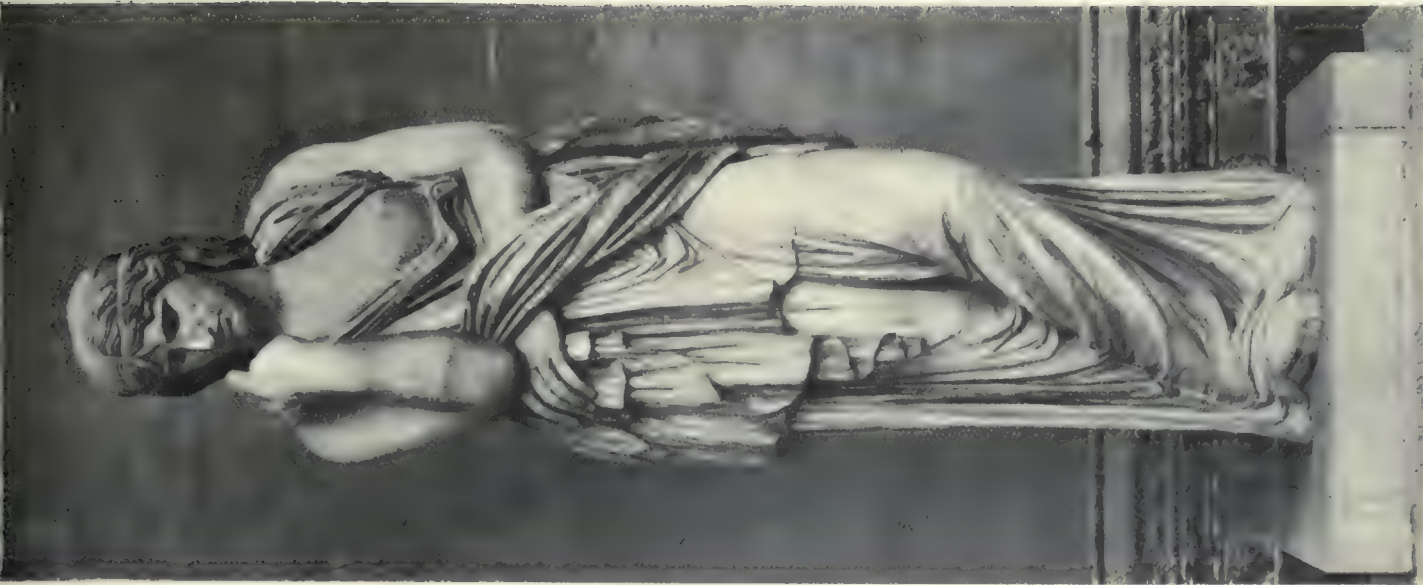
Figurine of Kneeling Goddess, Heraion on the Silaris.

*Photo. by courtesy of Drs. P. Zancani Montuoro and U. Zanotti-Bianco.*









B. Thysaneta, Loggia dei Lanzi.  
*Photo. Alinari 5507.*

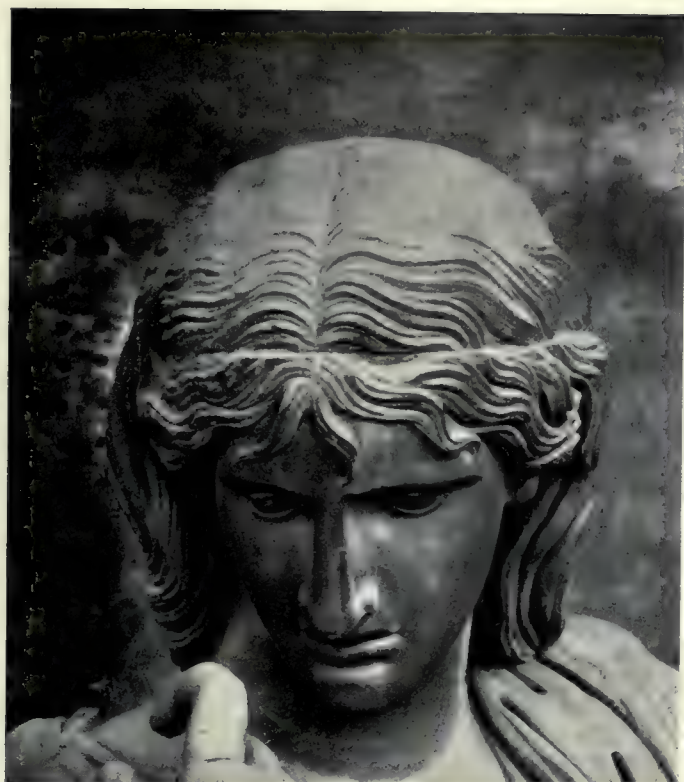


A. Pelias Relief, Lateran.  
*Photo. R. L. L. 44220.*









A. Thusnelda, head.  
*Photo. Alinari 2507 b.*



B. Amazon Head, Conservatori.  
*Photo. Alterocca 10.*



C. Thusnelda, head.  
*Photo. Alinari 2507 a.*



D. Amazon Head, Conservatori.  
*Photo. Alterocca 11.*









B. Detail.  
*Photo. Anderson 2094.*



A. Fanciulla d'Auzio.  
*Photo. Anderson 2089.*









A. Apoxyomenos, Vatican, head.  
*Photo. Anderson 5309.*



B. Ares Ludovisi, Terme, head.  
*Photo. Anderson 3297.*





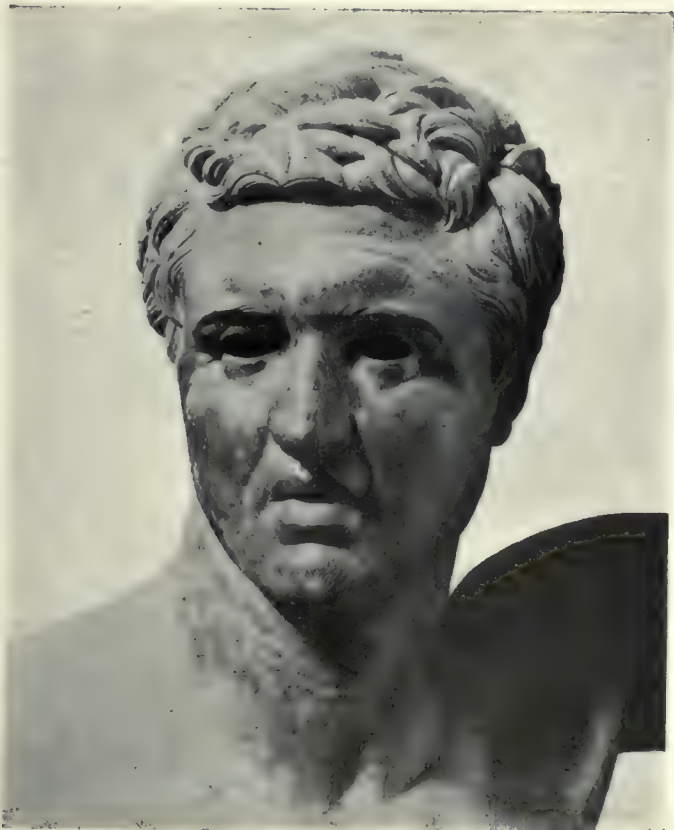




A.



B.



C.



D.

Hellenistic Ruler, Terme.

*Photos. Chausfourier 1607 [A], 1696 [C], Anderson 2151 [B], 2150 [D].*









Torso Belvedere, Vatican.

*Photo. Nimari 6667 a.*







Colossal Apollo, Vatican.

*Photo, Vatican; courtesy of Commendatore Bartolomeo Nogara.*







A. Showing the right side of the figure.



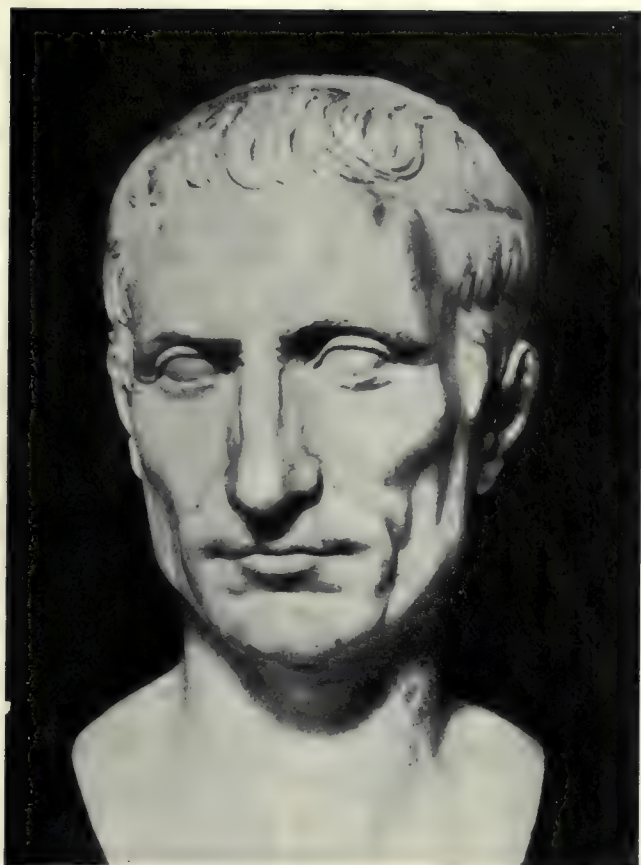
B. Seen from higher level.

Colossal Apollo, Vatican.

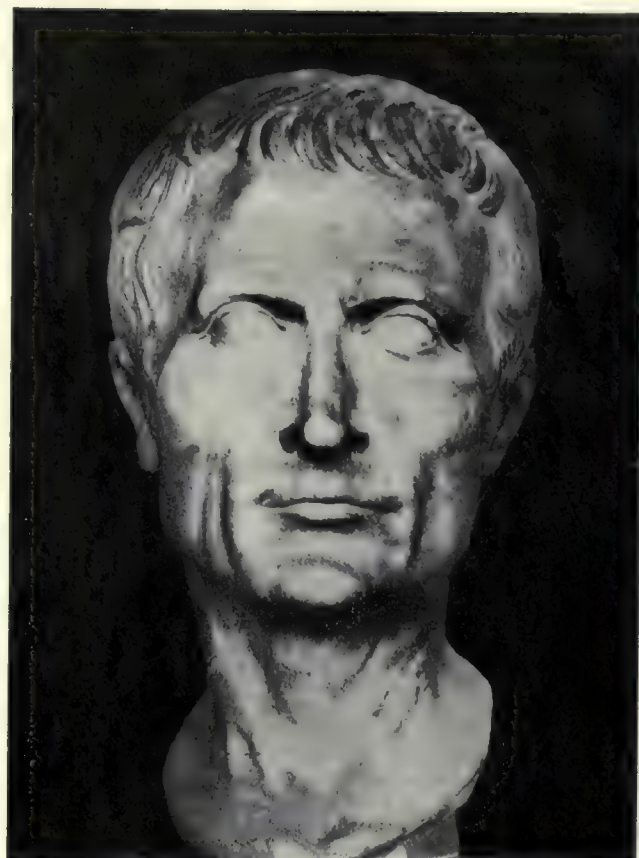
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A. Head of Caesar, Vatican.  
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B. Head of Caesar, Pisa.  
*From E. BOEHRINGER, Der Caesar von Acreale, pl. 18.*



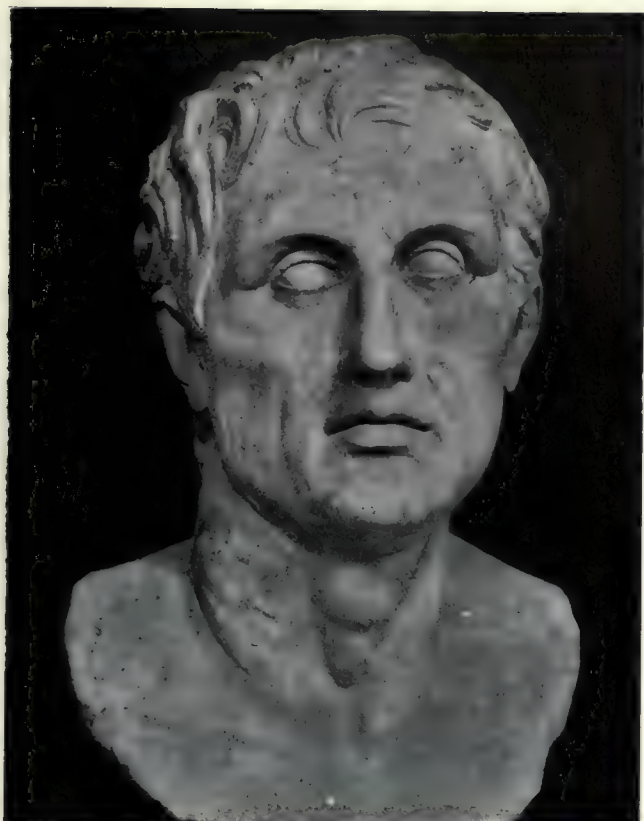
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D. Augustus from Prima Porta, Vatican, head.  
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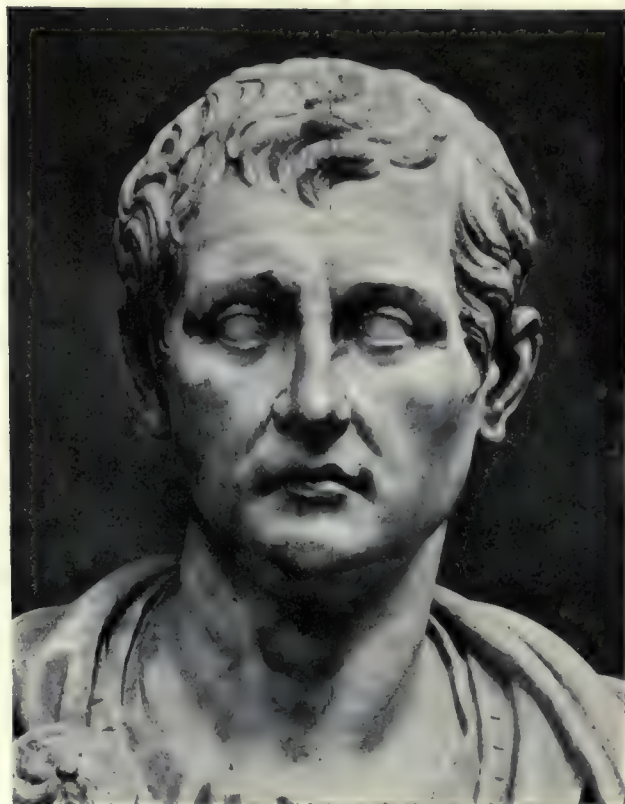






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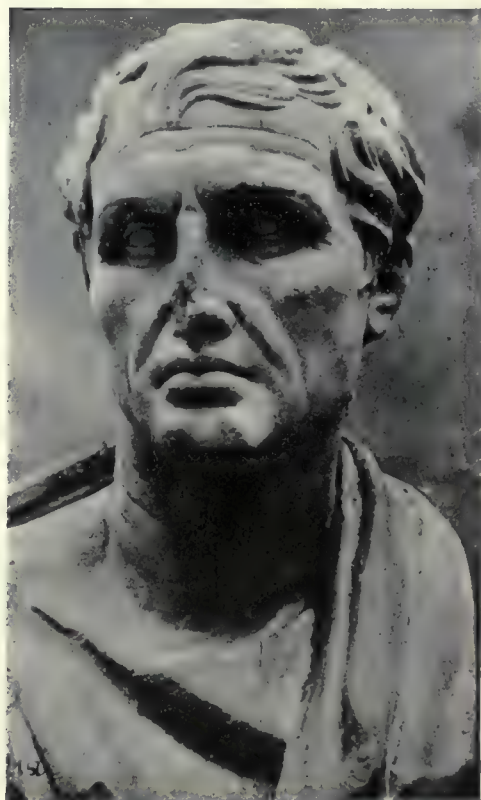
B. Head of Vergil, Terme (Ludovisi).

*Photo. Anderson 2050.*



C. Head of Vergil, Terme (double herm).

*German Archaeological Institute Negative 3174.*



D. Head of Vergil, Venice.

*German Archaeological Institute Negative 2150.*







Villa Medici Relief, three heads.  
*German Archaeological Institute Negative 2373, detail enlarged.*







Villa Medici Relief, portion.  
*German Archaeological Institute Negative 2373.*







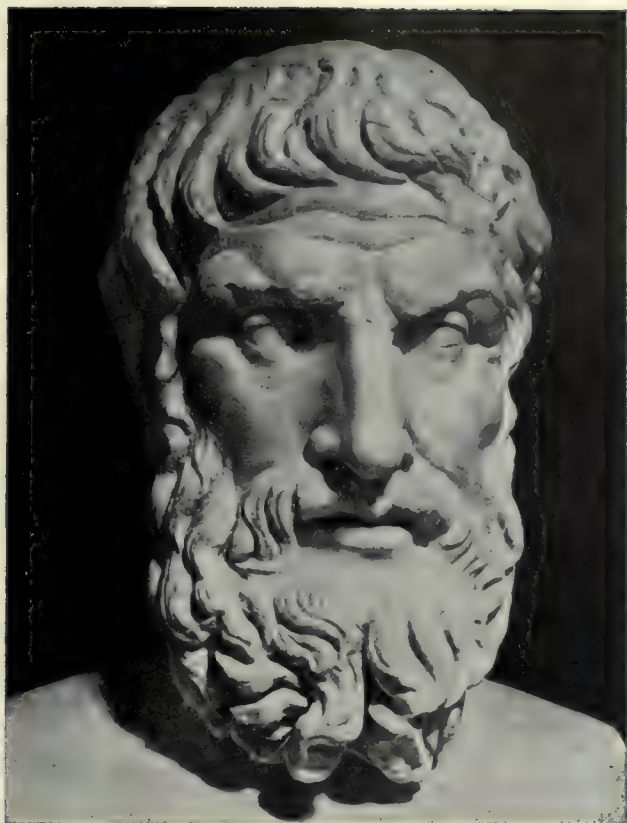
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A. Poseidippos, Vatican, head.  
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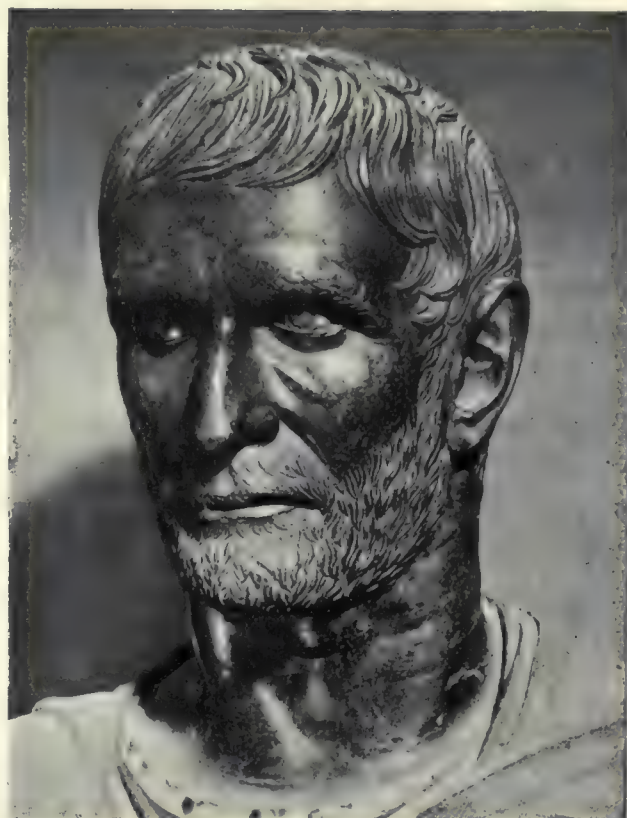






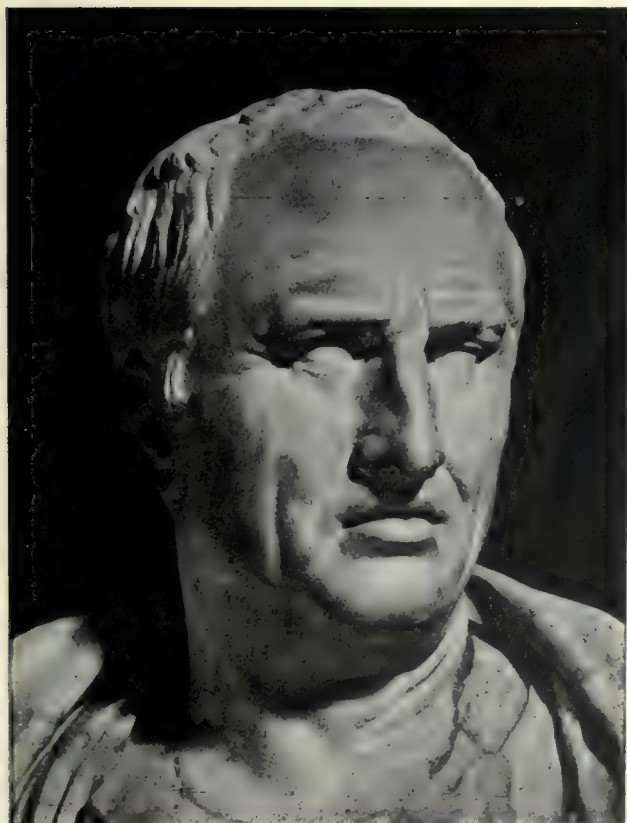
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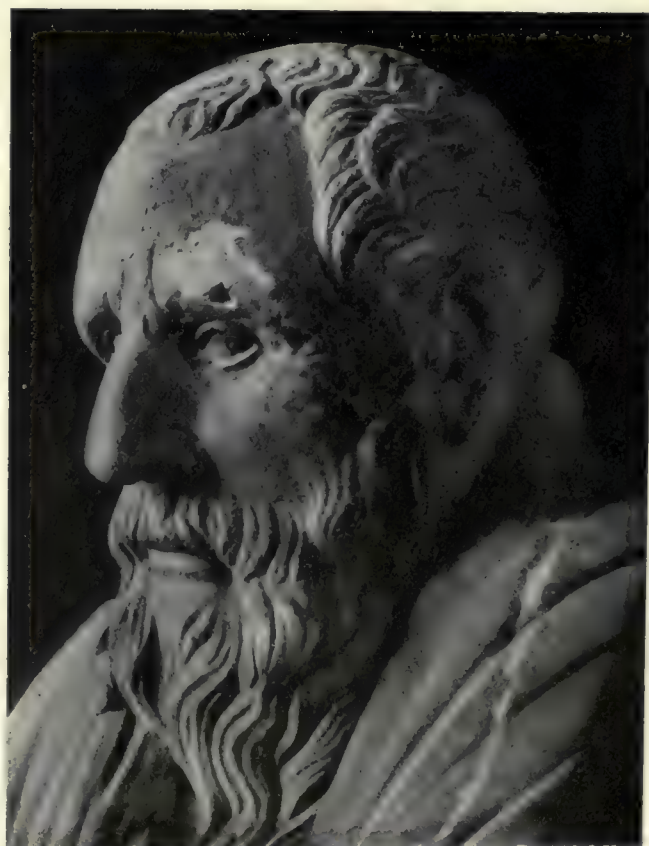
B. Head of "Brutus", Conservatori.

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C. Herm of Cicero, Capitoline.

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D. Herm of Chrysippos, Villa Albani.

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